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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

HISTORY

Literary Society of Bombay.

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION

IN

SCOTLAND:

WITH

AN INTRODUCTORY BOOK, AND AN APPENDIX.

110908

BY

GEORGE COOK, D. D.

MINISTER OF LAURENCEKIRK,

AND AUTHOR OF AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE GENERAL EVIDENCE ESTABLISHING THE REALITY OF CHRIST'S RESURRECTION.

Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ.—Hor.

VOLUME SECOND.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by George Ramsay and Company,

FOR PETER HILL, AND ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH; AND FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, AND JOHN MURRAY, LONDON.

1811

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1555.

Success of Knox.

KNOX pursued his great design with unwavering steadiness. Invited by Erskine of Dun, who had early declared himself a protestant, and to whom the reformation in Scotland was, in no small de-

CHAP. VIII. 1555.

gree, indebted for success, he went to the house of Dun, in the neighbourhood of Montrose; and while he continued there, he was attended by most of the neighbouring gentlemen. Upon many of them he made so deep an impression, that when he next returned to that part of the country, they requested that he would administer to them, agreeably to the practice of the reformed churches, the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and they bound themselves to maintain, to the uttermost of their power, the true preaching of the gospel of Christ, as God should give them opportunity *.

Alarm of the Clergy.

The sudden and extensive desertion of the services of the church, filled the clergy with the most serious alarm. They saw that matters were fast proceeding to extremity, and that it was necessary, for their own interest, to take every measure which could tend to render the issue of the struggle favourable to the sacred order. The bishops represented to the regent the open contempt for the church now shewn by the heretics, and the consequences which would result to the kingdom if they were not restrained. But although her zeal for the papal dominion was not less ardent than theirs, she was induced, by political motives, to act with much moderation †.

Representation to the Regent.

* Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, B. i. p. 92. Calderwood's true History of the Church of Scotland, p. 4. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 143.

† Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, B. ii. p. 93.

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1556. Her moderate conduct.

After her accession to the regency, she had displayed, with too little reserve, her partiality to her countrymen; had conferred upon them some of the highest offices; and had resigned herself entirely to their counsels. This filled the Scotish nobles with just indignation. Their pride and their love of interest were equally assailed, and they apprehended, or pretended to apprehend, that she had formed a design of rendering Scotland a province of France. The clergy, much directed by the primate, who had not forgiven the removal of his brother from the supreme authority, took an active part in fomenting dissention, and the queen, keeping steadily in view the marriage of Mary with the dauphin, and the close union of the two kingdoms, was unwilling to proceed with severity against the reformers, who, if managed with gentleness, she had no doubt would support her in measures which the priesthood openly opposed. On this account, although she certainly wished for the extirpation of heresy, she did not consider this as a proper time for effecting it by the interference of the civil power, and she therefore recommended to the bishops, to proceed against their enemies in virtue of their spiritual authority *.

15th May. Knox summoned to

They accordingly summoned Knox to appear before them in the Blackfriar's church of Edinburgh.

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 93. Keith, B. i. ch. 6. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 209. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 199.

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1556. appear before an ecclesiastical assembly.

Having fully ascertained the strength of his party, and being assured of their attachment, he received the summons without fear. Erskine of Dun, with a number of other gentlemen, assembled, that they might give him, when upon his trial, their countenance and support. This circumstance alarmed the clergy. They became apprehensive that some commotion might be produced by their condemning Knox; and to prevent this, they adjourned the assembly, under pretence of the informality with which he had been cited *. The protestants did not believe that this was the real reason for delaying procedure; they knew, from melancholy experience, that the substance, as well as the formalities of justice, had been often violated for the purpose of oppressing them; and they very naturally inferred, from the consternation and the irresolute conduct of the priesthood, that they were conscious of their own weakness. This inspired the reformers with additional confidence, and confirmed their determination to persevere in asserting their right to worship God according to conscience.

His activity.

Knox was peculiarly gratified with this termination of the attack which had been meditated against him. He saw the numbers of his hearers rapidly increasing, and on the very day upon which he should have stood at the bar from which so many had been sent to the flames, he preached to a larger

* Knox, B. i. p. 92. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 93. Calderwood, p. 4. Keith, B. i. ch. 6. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 143.

audience than had ever before, in Edinburgh, listened to his discourses *. The Earl of Glencairn, who not only had himself been established in the sentiments of the reformer, but who was persuaded that the same effect would be produced on all who candidly attended to his impressive admonitions, prevailed upon the Earl of Marischal to hear a sermon. This nobleman was amazed and delighted with the fervent eloquence in which Knox excelled; he agreed with Glencairn, that it was eminently calculated to convince the understanding; and both of them, sanguine in the hope that even the regent herself would be affected by it, advised him to write to her, enforcing the duty and the importance of reforming the church. He readily complied, and the letter was delivered to her by the Earl of Glencairn †. The task of composing it was certainly a very delicate one; but it was executed by Knox, not, indeed, without that bold, blunt asseveration which was so familiar to him, but in a manner which evinced much enlargement of understanding, and great dexterity in influencing and directing the human mind.

1556.

Letter to the Regent.

He began by alluding to the oppression with

* Knox, B. i. p. 92.

† Knox, B. i. p. 93. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 93, 94. Keith, p. 64. Calderwood, p. 4. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 143. Dr Heylin supposes, that the letter to the regent was written before the 15th of May, and was the great cause of Knox being cited by the clergy, but this is plainly a mistake.

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which the people of God had often been visited; and having thus guarded against the conclusion, that, because the reformers had encountered persecution they were deserted by heaven, he endeavoured to remove the prejudices against himself, which he knew were entertained. He acknowledged that the regent had acted with clemency to the protestants; he prayed that this disposition might continue and increase; and, after pointing out that it was wise to cherish it, that it was dangerous to act contrary to it, he adverted to the great plea urged by the friends of the church, that the work of reformation did not belong to princes, but to the bishops and pastors, who had been set apart, agreeably to divine appointment, for the maintenance and protection of religion. His refutation of this plea, under the circumstances in which Scotland was then placed, is quite convincing. He proceeded in a tone of moderation, which does him the highest honour, to mark out the line of conduct which he beseeched her to pursue. "I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth, to the natural man, to innovate any thing in matters of religion; and partly, I consider, that your grace's power is not so free as a public reformation perchance would require." With the warm zeal of a man devoted to the cause which he was supporting, he shewed that, notwithstanding these difficulties, there was the most awful obligation to make exertions for purifying the church; adding, "If

these things your grace do earnestly meditate, then albeit ye may not do suddenly what ye would, yet shall ye not cease to do what ye may. Your grace cannot hastily abolish superstition, and remove from offices unprofitable pastors; but if the zeal of God's glory be fervent in your grace's heart, ye will not by wicked laws maintain idolatry, neither will ye suffer the fury of bishops to murder and devour the members of Christ's body, as in times past they have been accustomed; which thing, if either by blind ignorance ye do, or yet for pleasure of others within the realm permit to be done, then except ye speedily repent, ye and your posterity shall suddenly feel the distressing hand of Him who hath exalted you *."

1556.

The presentation of this letter afforded the regent an opportunity of preserving the peace of the kingdom, and of acquiring the affections of the protestants, which she should have eagerly embraced. Had she received the representation with the attention which, in every point of view, it merited—had she explicitly announced her determination to put an effectual stop to persecution, to secure to those who supported the new faith, that

* Appendix to Knox's History, from p. 414. The whole of this letter strikingly illustrates the character of Knox, his mode of writing, and his religious and political principles. Two years after its first publication, it was republished with additions, written with a violence to which the contempt of the regent and the inveteracy of the clergy gave occasion.

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indulgence and that protection which they so earnestly requested—although she might not, perhaps, have prevented their ultimate ascendancy, which the enlargement of the human mind, and the progress of science would in all probability have secured, she would have checked that exasperation of spirit, which, ere long, burst forth in the most active resistance—which clouded with calamity her own administration, wounded her peace, and entailed the heaviest sorrows upon the unfortunate Mary.

She receives it with contempt.

She yielded, however, to the prejudices or the conviction which, though she sometimes concealed, she fondly cherished. She read, probably, with indignation, the free remonstrances of a man in the humble situation of Knox, in favour of a set of men whose principles she detested; she gave the letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, whose sentiments, with regard to it, could not be doubted, calling it by the opprobrious appellation of a *pasquil*, and she never afterwards paid to it the slightest attention *. This contempt and neglect made a most unfavourable impression upon the protestants. They saw what they might expect if the regent should think it safe to be guided by her real opinion of them, and they were confirmed in the persuasion which, even at this period, they had begun to entertain, that they would be obliged to trust to

Protestants enlarge their views.

* Knox, B. i. p. 92. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 94. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. [illegible] Laylin's History of the Presbyterians, Vol. IV. p. 144. Mackenzie's Life of Knox, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 114.

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their own vigour and decision for that liberty which they had so often and so fruitlessly solicited.

1556. Knox returns to Geneva. July.

But matters were not yet ripe for an avowed opposition to government, nor would such an opposition have been justifiable; and Knox, probably unwilling to expose himself longer, without necessity, to the hatred or the secret artifices of the clergy, again left Scotland, in consequence of a solicitation to become pastor to a congregation in Geneva *. To this step other motives may have contributed. He saw that the seeds of reformation were effectually sown; he thought that his temporary retreat, by depriving the church of the great object against which its efforts would most probably be directed, would leave the less conspicuous, though no less active ministers, at more liberty to spread their principles; and he was convinced that his advice, given from a distant country, might have an influence which, if the spirit of keen opposition was by his presence kept alive, it might not possess. That he had not relinquished the hope of the protestant religion prevailing in Scotland—that he was persuaded that his personal efforts to accomplish this would soon be requisite, is apparent. He soothed the grief of those friends who lamented his departure, not only by assuring them of the deep interest which he would ever take in the cause of truth, but by pro-

* Knox, B. i. p. 92, 93. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 94. Calderwood, p. 4. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 144.

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mising that he would instantly return when they were persuaded that it would thus be promoted *.

1556. Conduct of the clergy after his departure.

He no sooner had departed, than the clergy began to display the antipathy with which they had regarded him. Deterred as they had been from proceeding against him when he could have defended himself, they should, for their own sakes, have been cautious of again directing public attention to what had been so universally attributed to the decay of ecclesiastical power. They did not, however, see the wisdom of this caution. As if they had been anxious to prove that the conjecture of the people respecting the cause for which the trial had been adjourned was well-founded, they cited Knox when they were certain that he could not appear, condemned him as a heretic, and ordered him to be burned in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh†.

It is impossible to conceive greater infatuation—impossible to wonder that men who could be guilty of it, should so soon be precipitated into the gulf of destruction. This impotent vengeance animated those whom it was designed to depress, and afforded Knox an opportunity of addressing to his countrymen an appellation from the sentence against him, in which, with all the force of his vigorous

* Knox, Spottiswoode, Calderwood, Heylin, Keith, as last quoted.

† Knox, B. i. p. 9[illegible]. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 94. Calderwood's History, p. 4. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 144. Keith, B. i. ch. 6.

mind, he exposed the injustice and the cruelty with which he had been treated; in which he pressed, with increased energy of argument, the necessity of the nobility and the people uniting to destroy, what could be regarded only as the wantonness of oppression. This appeal was widely circulated; it was read with the fondest enthusiasm; and it powerfully contributed to form the temper required for the arduous struggle which awaited those for whom it had by its author been particularly intended*. The protestants saw their numbers daily enlarged, while the estimation of the clergy rapidly diminished. In the course of this year, an incident occurred, shewing, in the most decisive manner, the change of sentiment which had already become very general amongst the inhabitants of the metropolis.

Number of Protestants increase.

It had been customary, on the festival of St Giles, to carry in procession, with every mark of the most superstitious veneration, the image of that saint. When the day came, it was found that the image had been taken away; but another having been procured to supply its place, the ceremony commenced. Immense multitudes attended. Some, with affected devotion, requested that they might be permitted to carry the image; and when they had thus been entrusted with it, they threw it down, dashed it to

* Knox, B. i. p. 93, and Appendix from p. 427, where the appellation is published at full length. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 94. Calderwood, p. 4.

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pieces, and insulted the clergy. A tumult immediately ensued, and the magistrates were compelled to interfere, before peace could be restored *.

In the subsequent year, many of the sacred order were converted to the protestant faith, and took a decided part in communicating to others the conviction of its truth. John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, peculiarly distinguished himself. Having renounced his order, he became chaplain to the Earl of Argyll; and, under the protection of that nobleman, he supported even at court the reformed tenets. Paul Methven began about this time to preach with much success in Dundee; and as, through all parts of the country, numbers constantly declaimed against the corruption of the church, the clergy made new efforts to check such audacity. Their experiment in the case of Knox, convinced them that little would be effectuated by their sole authority. They applied, therefore, in the most urgent manner, to the regent, soliciting her to call the teachers before the

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 310, has given an account of this outrage, mentioning it as having taken place in 1558; and Spottiswoode and Keith, upon his authority, give to it the same date. From the account of Knox, p. 95, it appears to have happened soon after his leaving Scotland; and Keith, after he had written his narration of it, found incontestible evidence that it had done so. He has quoted in his Appendix, p. 84, a writing addressed to the council by the queen upon this occasion, dated 31st September 1556; and he adds, that there is no allusion to any such outrage in 1558. Heylin has placed it under the proper year; but as he never gives his authorities, it cannot be ascertained what documents led him to do so.

council, upon the ground of their creating disturbances, and stirring up the people to sedition.

Although she was desirous not to proceed with severity on the footing of religion, she hoped that, by prosecution for a civil offence, some restraint might be imposed upon the activity of the protestants; and they were therefore, in compliance with the wishes of the priesthood, summoned to answer for their conduct *. The preachers immediately prepared to obey the royal injunction; but as it was apprehended that great numbers of their followers would accompany them, as many had actually repaired to Edinburgh to be present at the trial, the regent, with the advice of the clergy, issued a proclamation, commanding all who had come without permission to the metropolis, to repair for fifteen days to the borders †. The intention of the queen was to prevent the tumult, which there was so much cause to dread; but the order pressing with peculiar severity upon the gentlemen from the west of Scotland, who had just returned from this service, they resolved to remonstrate against being compelled to renew it. Having come tumultuously to the palace, they obtained an audience of the regent, and, with the utmost vehemence, expostulated upon the hardship of the proclamation. She endeavoured to convince them, that it was required

Teachers summoned by the Regent.

Sensation excited by it.

Violence of some of the protestants.

* Spottiswoode, B. II. p. 94.

† Spottiswoode, p. 94. Knox, p. 94.

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by the situation of the country; but, far from satisfying them, Chalmers of Cartgirth, with the most indecent irreverence towards the representative of his sovereign, declared, "We know, Madam, that this is the device of the bishops who now stand by you; we avow to God that it shall not go so. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves; they trouble our preachers, and seek to undo them and us all; we will not suffer it any longer *." At the conclusion of this speech, he and his companions, with bold defiance, laid their hands upon their swords.

Regent wishes to conciliate them.

The regent was alarmed by such furious behaviour. She beseeched them to use no violence, and she attempted to sooth them, promising that she would hear and examine the controversy between them and the bishops. She declared that she had no ill intentions towards their preachers; that the proceedings against them should be suspended, and that the proclamation which had offended them should be immediately revoked †.

The conduct of Chalmers and his associates was so gross a violation of the deference and respect due to the supreme magistrate—so totally inconsistent with the very existence of a regular and vigorous government, that it might justly have been punished as approaching to treason or rebellion;

* Knox, B. i. p. 94. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 94.

† Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Keith, p. 65.

and it at first view appears astonishing, that the regent did not inflict upon those who had been guilty of it the most exemplary punishment. Her peculiar situation, and the troubled state of the country, fully account for the lenity which she shewed; lenity, which, under other circumstances, would have been incompatible with proper regard to her own dignity, and to the security of her daughter's throne.

It has been already mentioned, that, at the commencement of her administration, she had not been sufficiently careful to consult the wishes, and to humour the prejudices of her subjects; and in the anxiety which she continued to feel for cementing the union between France and Scotland, or rather for giving the former a decisive influence over the latter, she consented to the adoption of measures, strengthening the apprehensions, which, unhappily for her tranquillity, she had originally excited.

The almost unceasing hostilities between the two kingdoms of Britain, rendered it necessary to call forth the nobles and the heads of families, in all classes, to frequent military service. Although they cheerfully submitted to the hardships of a camp, when danger immediately threatened their country, they gladly embraced the first opportunity of returning home, and they loudly complained when their request to be disbanded was, in their own estimation, groundlessly refused. The discontent which from this source so often embarrassed go-

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vernment, probably suggested to the regent's council the importance of devising some scheme which would exempt the people from the hardship under which they murmured. It was accordingly resolved, that a certain proportion of every man's property should be regularly and annually levied; that with this there should be maintained a body of mercenary forces, who, being constantly subjected to discipline, would more effectually defend the nation, and prevent that inconvenient interruption of the usual occupations of life, which was so unfavourable to the progress of the arts, and to the general advancement of civilization.

At the present period, when all the arguments against a standing army which the friends of liberty were accustomed so eagerly and so forcibly to urge, have been overturned by the dreadful necessity for such armies, which the alarming and calamitous state of Europe has created, it is more difficult than it would ever not long ago have been, to enter into the keen feelings which the intimation of this scheme very widely excited. The independence and the honour of the kingdom, were by all ranks conceived to be in danger. The nobility, although they did not at first openly express their indignation, were deeply offended; while the gentlemen, or untitled landed proprietors, took from the beginning a most active and decided part. About three hundred of them met in Edinburgh, to deliberate upon the measures which it would be prudent to adopt. They sent

two deputies of the highest estimation, to represent to the regent, that the present generation had not degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors; that as their fathers had defended their country, it was their inclination and their duty to walk in the same road of glory; that they would never entrust to mercenary soldiers the honour of preserving what belonged to themselves and their families, and what they most dearly valued *. This opposition which their own general views would have induced them to make, was rendered more determined by the suspicion or conviction that the plan had originated with the French counsellors, and that it had been intended by them to pave the way for introducing an army of their countrymen into Scotland—of course for subjecting the inhabitants of that kingdom to the most degrading humiliation, or the most abject slavery.

The firm but respectful manner in which the deputies fulfilled the commission which their constituents had entrusted to them, shewed the regent the dangerous ground upon which she stood. With consummate wisdom and address, she at once relinquished the measure, although, to erase the impression respecting its origin, she repeatedly declared that it had been devised by some of the most

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 307. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 485, 486. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 274—276. Keith, B. i. ch. 7.

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eminent of the Scotish nobles *. This concescension could not fail to be highly gratifying. It did not, however, extinguish the jealousy of French interference; and as it shewed what might be done by resistance, it strengthened the inclination to oppose with firmness every unpopular exertion of the supreme authority.

The discontent, which had been in a great degree removed, accordingly, soon again burst forth. The king of France having engaged in a war with Philip of Spain, who had espoused Mary the English queen, urged the regent of Scotland to commence hostilities against that princess. To this she was sufficiently inclined, but the proposal was received by the nobility with the utmost coldness. Even after they had become more compliant, and might have been induced to gratify her inclinations, the rashness of D'Osell determined them not to enter into England. This foreign general, without concerting his plans with the Scotish commanders, led a body of his troops beyond the borders; and this presumption was attributed to his desire, not merely of arrogating to himself the glory of the enterprize, but of accustoming the inhabitants of Scotland to yield implicit obedience to the orders which he should address to them. The indignation which thus was kindled, destroyed the feeble wish to please the regent; the nobles resolutely declared that

* Buchanan, Holinshed, Keith, as last quoted.

they would not leave their own country; and, as the intentions of the queen were defeated, she disbanded the army *.

The antipathy to an alliance with France thus daily increasing, the regent apprehended that her daughter's marriage with the dauphin, about the accomplishment of which she felt so much anxiety, might become the signal for rebellion. To prevent this, she used every method to sooth the irritated feelings, and to gain the affections of the people; and in her anxiety to conciliate the protestants, whose support she had every reason to expect, she overlooked the violence of Chalmers, and of his associates, who were warmly attached to the reformed faith.

She beheld, however, with the deepest regret, that suspension of the energy of government, occasioned by political and religious dissensions, and she cordially joined with the French king in his anxiety to accelerate the marriage, which, she trusted, would provide a remedy for the evils which she deplored. That monarch having addressed a letter upon this interesting subject to the estates of Scotland, it was, towards the conclusion of the year, Dec. 14th. submitted to their consideration. In this letter, Henry expressed the utmost regard for the true interest of the Scotish nation; he reminded them of the long connection which had subsisted between

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 308. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 491. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 278. Keith, B. i. ch. 7.

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1557. it and his kingdom, and beseeched them to send some of the leading men among the nobility to honour, by their presence, the marriage of their sovereign with his son; and to make such arrangements as that event would render necessary. He concluded, by mentioning the many advantages which would result from this union to both countries.

In conformity with his request, parliament appointed eight commissioners to attend the solemnity; but they gave them instructions dictated by the purest patriotism, having for their object to secure the freedom or the independence of Scotland. They met, upon their arrival in France, with the most courteous and flattering reception. They were assured that every demand which they were enjoined to make would be conceded; the most solemn ratifications of the promises made to them were granted; and every ground of alarm having, by such candid proceedings, been removed, the marriage was soon after solemnized with the most sumptuous magnificence *.

Marriage of Mary with the Dauphin.

1558. April 24th.

Under this apparent candour of the French

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 492, 493. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 279, 280. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 308, 309. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 95. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 367. Keith, B. i. ch. 7. In his Appendix to B. i. No. 10. Keith has inserted the approbation of the conduct of the commissioners by parliament, in which their original instructions are engrossed. The register of parliament 1557 is lost. He has also given the contract of marriage, App. No. 11.

court, there was concealed the most artful and detestable dissimulation. At the very time at which the liberties of Scotland, and the eventual succession of the family of Hamilton to the crown were, as the commissioners believed, sincerely confirmed, Mary was induced to subscribe deeds totally inconsistent with both; deeds, by which she conveyed her kingdom in free gift to the king of France, if she should leave no children; and declared, that whatever confirmation she might, in compliance with the wishes of her parliament, give to the lineal succession, the deeds which she had executed expressed her real sentiments and intentions *.

1558. Dissimulation of the French court.

A few days after the marriage, an attempt was made to prevail upon the commissioners to support the schemes of the family of Guise, and to use every effort, upon their return to Scotland, to induce the parliament to acknowledge the dauphin as king. The proposals filled them with alarm; they at once declined entering upon subjects of the utmost importance, with respect to which they had received no authority; and they persisted in adhering strictly to the instructions which had been given to them by the estates. They at length departed from France; but the remarkable mortality

* Keith, B. i. ch. 7. Copies of the treacherous deeds above mentioned are in the Advocate's library, in a fine large MS., containing all the treaties between the kings of France and Scotland; and from this MS. Keith derived his information. Burnet, Vol. III. and Appendix to that volume. Consult also, for perceiving the insincerity of the French court, Leslie, Lib. x. p. 494.

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1558. which prevailed amongst them, through which, in the course of their journey, half their number, the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis, the Bishop of Orkney and Lord Fleming, were cut off, was believed to have been occasioned by the base practices of the Duke of Guise. This suspicion filled the minds of the people of Scotland with horror, and made them shrink with detestation from the connection which they had permitted to be formed *.

Progress of the reformation

I have put together the political events which terminated in the marriage of the Scotish queen, that no interruption might be given to the narration of the rapid progress which the reformers now made, and of the decisive measures to which they had recourse.

The effect which had been produced upon the regent by the firm remonstrances against her intended hostility to the protestants, convinced them that the time was now come when they might act with more steadiness, and when the presence and counsels of Knox might prove highly useful in attaining the important objects which, they trusted, might be secured. The leaders of the party, under this conviction, sent to him a letter, which throws much light upon the state of their sentiments, and upon their resolution to bring forward more exten-

Knox recalled.

1557. March 10.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 309, 310. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 281. Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 95. Knox, B. i. p. 96. Mackenzie's Life of Queen Mary in Vol. 3d of his Lives, p. 249. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 326, 329. Keith, B. i. ch. vii. p. 75.

sive claims of religious toleration: "Dearly beloved in the Lord. The faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts (thanks be unto God) are stedfast in the belief wherein ye left them; and have a godly thirst and desire, day by day, of your presence again, which if the spirit of God will so move and permit time unto you, we will heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye will return again into these parts, where ye shall find all the faithful whom ye left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine, but ready to jeopard lives and goods for the setting forward the glory of God, as he will permit times. And albeit the magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them; yet at the making hereof we have no experience of any more cruelty to be used than was before; but rather we have belief that God will augment his flock, because we see daily the friars, enemies to Christ's gospel, in less estimation, both with the queen's grace, and the rest of the nobility of our realm. This, in few words, is the mind of the faithful being present, and of others absent. The rest of our minds this faithful bearer will shew you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord." This letter, in many respects most interesting, was subscribed at Stirling by the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Lorn afterwards Earl of Argyll, Erskine, probably Erskine of Dun, as Lord Erskine had not at this time openly joined the reformers, and by James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, a natural son

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of James V., and who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part as Earl of Murray *.

It is impossible not to conclude from this invitation, given by men of the highest rank and respectability, that Knox had conducted himself, when in Scotland, with ability equal to his zeal. Had he shewn himself to be what he has been so frequently represented, a hot-headed intemperate enthusiast, they must have been sensible, that the very existence of the protestant form of worship in their country, would almost absolutely depend upon his remaining at a distance. But so far from this being the case, they reposed in him the most unbounded confidence, revered him as possessed of the qualities essential for guiding or devising measures equally delicate and arduous; and his subsequent conduct, even with all the errors which attached to it, fully justified the opinion which thus early they had formed. The letter also fully proves the fact, that the administration of the regent had hitherto been distinguished by lenity and forbearance towards the enemies of the church; that she restrained every effort to renew persecution, and even connived at a degree of indulgence, to which we must very much ascribe the extensive influence which they had acquired over all classes of the community. It cannot, however, be doubted, that the

* Knox, B. i. p. 98. Life of Knox, prefixed to his History, p. 20. Keith, B. i. ch. 6. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 145.

letter was written at a time, when, although there was no new ground for complaint, they had formed a resolution of endeavouring to wrest from their sovereign a more independent establishment. Their declaration that they would hazard their lives and fortunes to set forward the glory of God, implies this, and there would have been no occasion for requesting Knox to return—no occasion for sending to him a special messenger, with confidential and secret instructions, had they believed that matters were to continue in the posture in which they had been placed before he left Scotland. CHAP. VIII. 1557.

He no sooner received the dispatches which were with anxious care conveyed to him—dispatches which stimulated his zeal, and perhaps flattered that love of importance so interwoven with human nature, than he consulted Calvin, and some other eminent divines, upon the determination which he should form. Having received their solemn admonition to undertake the arduous task to which he was called, and made such arrangements with respect to those among whom he ministered as his interest in their spiritual welfare suggested, he commenced his journey, and arrived at Dieppe in France about the end of October *. Here he met with a severe disappointment. He found letters advising him not to prosecute his journey, because the ardent zeal May. Oct. 27th.

* Knox, B. i. p. 98. Buchanan's Life of Knox, prefixed to the History. Calderwood, p. 4. Keith, p. 65. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 145.

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which had prompted his recal was weakened, and many had repented of having consented to the scheme which the lords, who subscribed the letter, had framed. It appears from this that mature deliberation had opened the eyes of numbers to the dangers which threatened them, and led them to value the peace and security which they had been for some time permitted to enjoy. The protestants, in fact, were not restrained from privately worshipping God, according to their consciences; and the timid or the prudent dreaded, that, by striving to enlarge this liberty, they might renew the oppression under which they had formerly suffered. The effect, too, might have been produced by that weakness and that despondency of spirit, which almost all men, at least for a moment, feel, before irretrievably engaging in enterprizes, hazardous to themselves, and fatal to the tranquillity of their country.

His manly conduct.

Knox strongly condemned this pusillanimity, which not only placed himself in a most awkward situation, but which, he justly apprehended, would, if not counteracted, endanger or prevent the success of the reformation. He did not, however, sink in dejection. With his usual strength of mind, he determined to make a powerful effort to recal the protestant leaders to that policy which they seemed inclined to abandon. He wrote to the noblemen who had solicited his return, urged the importance of accomplishing the great work which they had commenced, and attempted to convince them that

they would, by relinquishing it, infallibly expose themselves to the most tyrannical persecution. He prepared them for the dangers and trials which, he did not dissemble, would, in all probability, meet them; concluding in this energetic strain of exhortation: "God speaketh to your consciences, that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for the deliverance of your brethren; for only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and ye receive honour and tribute and homage, not by reason of your birth and progeny, as the most part of men falsely do suppose, but by reason of your office and duty, which is to vindicate and to deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression. Advise diligently, I beseech you, with the points of that letter, which I directed to the whole nobility, and let every man apply the matter and case to himself; for your consciences shall one day be compelled to acknowledge, that the reformation of religion, and of public enormities, doth appertain to more than to the clergy, or chief rulers called kings *."

This letter, which was written from Dieppe, in the end of October, and which was accompanied with a general address to the nobles, and with private letters to Erskine of Dun, and Wishart of Pittarrow, produced an astonishing effect. It created

Effect of it.

* Knox, Book i. p. 98-100.

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shame for the weakness or indifference which marked the conduct to Knox; the lords lamented their relaxation in the cause of truth; a new impulse was given to their fortitude; and they determined so to act in future, that retreat could not be attempted without the meanness and the guilt of apostasy *. For this purpose, they framed that memorable bond, which first united in a body the defenders of the reformation, and which must be perused by all who wish to have just views of the state of sentiment and of feeling which then existed.

Union of the Protestants.

"We, perceiving how Satan in his members, the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the gospel of Christ, and his congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto death, being certain of the victory in him. The which our duty being well considered, we do promise before the majesty of God and his congregation, and we, by his grace, shall, with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the blessed word of God and his congregation, and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers, purely and truly to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof,

* Knox, B. i. p. 100. Calderwood, p. 4. Keith, p. 66 Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 145, 146.

at our whole power, and waring of our lives against Satan and all wicked power, that does intend tyranny and trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation we do join us; and also do renounce and forsake the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof; and, moreover, shall declare ourselves, manifestly, enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to his congregation by our subscription at these presents." 1557. Dec. 3d.

This deed was executed at Edinburgh. It was immediately subscribed by the Earls of Glencairn, Argyll, Morton, Lord Lorn, John Erskine of Dun; and all who entertained their opinions, took the first opportunity of testifying their approbation, and of solemnly placing themselves under the same sacred obligation *.

Remarks upon the bond which they subscribed.

Language more decisive could not have been employed, and the considerations which are held forth, as influencing the protestants, are the most powerful which can exert their energy upon the human mind. The subscribers, in the most impressive manner, calling upon the Supreme Being to witness their sincerity, profess to regard the established church as Antichrist; its members as the congregation of Satan, united in confederacy against the diffusion of pure religion—against the comfort or the

* Knox, B. i. p. 101. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 45. Keith, B. i. ch. 6. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 146.

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existence of those by whom it was professed. They declare, that they consider submission to this impious tyranny, as a violation of the most awful and obligatory duties; and they pledge themselves to hazard property, even life itself, in endeavouring to effectuate its subversion. They who composed this form of association, or who, after maturely considering its import, subscribed it, must have attained that firmness which no opposition can finally destroy; which may perish by the extermination of those who possess it, but which triumphs in the calamities and sorrows which, to human nature, not elevated by religious zeal, or warmed by enthusiasm, appear replete with horror. From the moment that this bond became the charter of the protestants, the sword was drawn from the scabbard, and the scabbard itself was cast away. They might, after making one step in their progress, have reposed in momentary tranquillity, but they would have soon arisen with increased vigour, to struggle for the freedom which, in their estimation, was essential to their security.

CHAPTER NINTH.

Anxiety of the reformers to appease Knox....Assume the name of the Congregation....Their resolutions....Correspondence between the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Earl of Argyll....Death of Walter Mill.... Protestants irritated...Their address and petition to the Regent....Policy adopted by her....Similar request presented to an ecclesiastical convention....Effect of this....Parliament meets....Petition of the Congregation....Proceedings in consequence of it...Protestation ....Remarks on it....Regent becomes decidedly hostile to the Protestants....An assembly of the Clergy....First articles of Reformation....Violent conduct of the Regent....Moderation and firmness of the Protestants.... Effect upon the Regent....Proceedings at Perth....Regent offended....Erskine of Dun sent to her....Her dissimulation....Knox arrives in Scotland....His journey.... His memorable sermon at Perth....Attack upon the monasteries....Disinterestedness of the populace....Apology for the excesses which attended the introduction of the reformation into Scotland.

CHAP. IX.

1557. Anxiety of the reformers to appease Knox.

THE most distinguished of the protestants had no sooner determined, in consequence of the representations of Knox, to prosecute their schemes, than they felt the utmost anxiety to obliterate the unfavourable impression, which their recent and un-

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steady conduct had produced upon his mind. For this purpose they wrote to Calvin, whose influence and authority were highly revered, requesting that he would interpose, endeavouring to persuade his friend to forget the past, and to assist, by his presence, at a period so critical, the promotion of the interesting cause to which he was sincerely devoted *.

Assume the name of the Congregation.

In the bond of association, they had frequently applied to the adherents of the reformed faith the epithet of the Congregation; and this title in consequence soon became the distinguishing appellation of those who were hostile to the church. The noblemen who directed their proceedings were denominated the Lords of the Congregation; and they retained this name during the whole of the arduous contest †.

They had now with sufficient clearness expressed their determination to assert the purity of the faith, and they commenced their attempt by passing the two following resolutions, which they addressed to all who entertained their sentiments: "1. It is thought expedient, that in all parishes of this realm, the common prayer be read weekly on Sunday, and on other festival days in the churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the book of common prayer; and if the curates of the parishes be qualified, that they be

Their resolutions.

* Knox, B. i. p. 101.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 311. Keith, B. i. ch. 7.

caused to read the same: and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified of the parish use and read them. 2. It is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of people, till God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers *." These resolutions, considered in reference to the reformation, breathe a moderate and conciliatory spirit. While they have for their object to secure what was esteemed necessary for the diffusion of religious knowledge, and for the rational worship of God, they discountenance all violence, prohibit large assemblies, which might become tumultuous, and recommend patience until the sentiments of the sovereign should become more favourable to the mode of instruction which they recommend. Still, however, they must have been contemplated by the church and by the state with well-grounded apprehension. They implied an assumption of power by men whom the constitution did not recognize as possessed of any authority; they virtually condemned what innumerable laws had sanctioned; and their publication evidenced a determination to legislate or to reform, which might soon wear a more marked aspect;—which, if not at

* Knox, p. 101. Calderwood's History, p. 5. This writer, by mistake, mentions these resolutions as having been formed before the subscription of the bond. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 146, 147. Keith, p. 66.

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first repressed, might even wrest from the regent the sceptre which she had hitherto swayed.

As an authentic document, they throw considerable light upon the state of opinion and of knowledge, at the period to which they refer. It is apparent from them, that the antipathy to set forms of prayer, which at a subsequent period was so strongly felt in Scotland, had at the commencement of the reformation no existence. The fact is, that the efforts of the reformers were bent to annihilate the strange practice of praying in an unknown tongue; and that they were not, at the beginning of their career, led to consider what, if this should be gained, would be the best mode of exciting the devotion, or guiding the adoration of the people. The resolutions also afford unquestionable evidence of the ignorance which prevailed amongst the officiating clergy. They not only were little exercsied in the studies requisite for an enlightened teacher of religion, but they were even incapable of reading the services of the church. The existence of such ignorance, while it fixes a deep stain upon the more dignified of the priesthood, who made no exertions to remove it, must impress us with the value of any revolution in the religious world, which directly tended to call forth the faculties and the intellectual endowments of an order of men, who should assiduously cultivate literature and science, that they might be able to employ them in defence of the most sacred and interesting truths,

or in the explanation of those sublime doctrines and that pure morality, which must have a decided influence upon the best interests of mankind. 1558.

The lords of the Congregation set the example which they enjoined their adherents to imitate. The Earl of Argyll made Douglas, his chaplain, preach openly in his house, regulating by his advice the ceremonials of worship; and many in different parts of the country acted with the same boldness and decision *.

The clergy saw in these practices the foundation of a rival church. They justly thought that this was the most favourable time for directing against it the energy of government; but the regent, who, although the approbation of parliament had been given to the marriage of her daughter, dreaded whatever might render it unpopular, listened with much remissness to their urgent representations of the calamities which threatened to subvert the venerable fabric of the hierarchy †.

The archbishop of St Andrews, baffled in his views with respect to the queen, attempted to sow dissension amongst the protestants themselves, or rather to draw away from them some of those whose conduct had been contemplated with peculiar veneration. With this view, he wrote to the Earl of Argyll, in language of the warmest regard and

* Knox, Book i. p. 102. Spottiswoode, Book iii. p. 117. Keith, p. 67.

† Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 117. Keith, p. 67.

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1558. Correspondence between the archbishop of St Andrews and the Earl of Argyll. Mar. 25th.

friendship; and as he was unwilling to insert in the letter all the arguments by which he hoped to make an impression upon that nobleman, he gave instructions to Sir David Hamilton respecting the points upon which he should enlarge, and the manner in which he should enforce them. This messenger was enjoined to represent to Argyll the antiquity and splendour of his family, the illustrious members of which had, for many generations, been distinguished by their piety and their obedience to their sovereigns—to shew him the ardent affection of the primate, and his anxiety that the honour of such a family should not be stained—to lament, in the archbishop's name, that Argyll should be seduced and abused, by the false views of an apostate, alluding to Douglas, his chaplain, and should be led by him to support the most erroneous and dangerous tenets, which the holy councils of the church had condemned. He was also commanded to insist to the earl upon the danger of acting in this manner; to state how grieved the primate would be to hear that any calamity had befallen him, his son or his friends, particularly in his own day, and how much displeasure the archbishop felt, that, at the close of life, the period when he should have been most steady in his principles, Argyll had begun to waver in his faith. It was not to be supposed, that, in such a conference, no direct mention would be made of Douglas; Hamilton, accordingly, was enjoined to mention, that this man had been accused

of heresy, to which it was the duty of the primate to apply a remedy. In the usual strain of communications of this nature, the agent of the archbishop was to beseech Argyll to attribute entirely to friendship, the warning which had been given to him; and as a proof of this, to offer, that one properly instructed, would be sent to shew him the true faith. After all these expressions of cordial affection, Hamilton was to conclude by insinuating, that the lenity of the primate had exposed him to much censure; and that, if Argyll should disregard this admonition, the primate would be compelled to proceed with spiritual censures against one whom he had long sincerely loved *.

To this communication Argyll made a reply, Mar. 31st equally illustrating the vigour of his understanding and the liberality of his sentiments. He expressed himself with a calmness and moderation becoming his rank, and which the temperate language of the primate naturally led him to adopt. He shewed, however, the firmest attachment to the principles which he had avowed; vindicated his chaplain from the unfounded aspersions which his enemies had cast on him; and urged the archbishop, upon the strong ground of moral and religious duty, not to depart from the lenity for which he had been reproached; but at the same time intimating, that if he should do so, all the sufferings which could be

* Knox, B. i. p. 102—104. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 117. Keith, B. i. ch. 7.

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inflicted, would not lead himself to violate what he believed that he owed to the Supreme Being*. To these manly principles he stedfastly adhered. Soon after this correspondence, he was removed from the world; and he left, as his dying proof of zeal for the reformation, an earnest request to his son, to promote the public preaching of the gospel, and to destroy, to the utmost of his power, the superstition and idolatry of the church of Rome †.

The archbishop had probably been sanguine in his expectations of renewing, in Argyll, the zeal which had characterized his ancestors. He must, both from public and private considerations, have felt much disappointment that he did not succeed; and it is not unlikely that the disappointment impelled him to act with a violence, which he had generally avoided—to ascertain what effects might result from renewing the detestable persecution, which his indolence or his natural aversion to cruelty had fortunately suspended. Nothing except the mode in which it was executed, could be more unwise than this resolution. In the state in which the minds of men then were, it might have been apparent to discernment, much less acute than that of the primate, that persecution might, in the most rapid and alarming manner, increase the evil against which it was directed, but certainly could not di-

* Knox, B. i. as last quoted. He has inserted, at full length, the reply of Argyll. Spottiswoode and Keith, ib.

† Knox, p. 108.

minish or remove it. The slightest acquaintance with the most obvious principles of our nature was sufficient to teach this lesson, even although, by the experience of the past, it had failed to be taught. There is sometimes, however, an infatuation in the conduct of men, which baffles speculation, and sets reason at defiance—infatuation which has often been the presage of ruin, and which, in the present case, undoubtedly produced events most disastrous to those who yielded to its fascination*.

CHAP. IX. 1556.

Walter Mill had, at an early period of life, travelled in Germany, and having, upon his return, been ordained a priest, he obtained the benefice of Lunan, in the county of Angus. Upon the first introduction of the reformation into Scotland, he was suspected of being inclined to support it; and during the primacy of Beaton he had, in consequence of an accusation of heresy, judged it prudent to go into concealment. He was discovered about the period of which I now write, and the archbishop, with the clergy, immediately proceeded against him. His extreme age, for he was beyond eighty, probably led them to hope that he would not be able to make a vigorous defence; but in this they were disappointed. He replied to the charges adduced, as implying his attachment to heresy, with a readiness and an acuteness, which filled all who heard him with amazement, and heightened the smypathy

April. Death of Walter Mill.

* Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, B. ii. p. 97.

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with which, from bending under the infirmities of the last years of protracted existence, he was regarded. Having resolutely refused to abjure his principles, he was declared an obstinate heretic; but such was the commiseration which his appearance had excited, that no person could be found, who would, as a temporal judge, pronounce the awful sentence of condemnation. This difficulty was at length removed: the odious office was undertaken by a domestic of the primate, a man of dissolute conduct; after which the interesting prisoner was led to execution. He contemplated the scene of his sufferings with unmoved fortitude; addressed a few affecting observations to the spectators; and he expired imploring that mercy from his Redeemer, in which he had so long relied *.

His death excited almost universal horror and indignation. The inhabitants of St Andrews, not intimidated by the presence and influence of the archbishop, expressed what they felt. They collected a heap of stones on the place upon which he was burnt, as a memorial of his sufferings, and of their pity for the sufferer; they renewed this testi-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 310. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 95–97. Knox, B. i. p. 122. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 200, 201. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. Calderwood, p. 5. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 408, 409. Burnet represents Mill's death as having taken place in 1559, upon what authority he does not mention; but he is in a mistake, for all our Historians date that event in April 1558; and the general tenor of the History of Scotland plainly shows, that it could not have happened in the following year.

mony, after the zeal of the clergy had demolished it; and it was at length found necessary to surround the spot with a guard, that no such appeal might continue to be made to feelings which so strongly tended to impel to disaffection or tumult, those by whom they were cherished*. Spottiswoode has recorded an epitaph which was written upon Mill, and which, although not free from quaintness and conceit, was admirably calculated to preserve those sentiments of indignation against the church which his death had occasioned:

Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armârunt hostes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis
Quæ vitæ causa est, et mihi causa necis †.

Protestants irritated.

His calamitous fate filled the adherents of the Congregation with the gloomiest apprehension, and confirmed their opinion respecting the necessity of vigorously asserting spiritual liberty. They complained to the regent of cruelty so shocking and unjust, humbly requesting that they who had been guilty of it, might be restrained or punished. She lamented what had happened; assured them that she was entirely innocent; that the sentence had been pronounced without her knowledge; the primate

* Knox, B. i. p. 122. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 97. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 310. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 409.

† Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 97.

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having availed himself of Mill being a priest, to proceed against him according to the canon law, without any commission from the civil authority*. They seem to have been convinced of her sincerity, and to have acquitted her of participating in the death of Mill; but they, notwithstanding, considered it necessary to bind themselves to protect their brethren against the tyrannous persecution of the bishops, and to employ confidential agents, both to ascertain the real state of public opinion, and to solicit the assistance of all who were hostile to the church, in promoting the reformation†.

Address and petition to the Regent.

Anxious, however, to proceed with the approbation of the regent, who had lately shown to them much indulgence—reluctant to oppose her government, the lords of the Congregation presented to her an address, to which they added the requests with which they prayed that she would comply. In the address, they reminded her of the patience which they had displayed, under all the cruelty to which the priesthood had subjected the friends of the reformation; they declared that they were now impelled by the most sacred regard to conscience and their duty to God, to implore protection from the tyranny of the ecclesiastical state; they acknowledged that they ought before, either to have defended their brethren from suffering, or to have openly

* Knox, p. 122. Calderwood, p. 5.

† Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 97. Keith's History of Scotland, B. ch. vi. p. 68, 69.

professed that they had the same faith; and they intimated their determination no longer to continue silent, lest their silence should be interpreted into acquiescence in what they were obliged to oppose. They complained of the aspersions by which it had been attempted to prejudice them in the estimation of their countrymen; they prayed that she would attend to the requests which they had subjoined; and that, to the joy and satisfaction of their troubled consciences, she would grant these requests, unless it should be proved, by the word of God, that they ought not to be granted. The requests were, 1st, That they might meet publickly or privately, for the purpose of praying in the vulgar tongue, to the end that their knowledge might increase, and that they might commend to God the holy church universal, the queen their sovereign, her honourable and gracious husband, the stability of their succession, her grace the regent, the nobility, and whole estates of the realm. 2d, That it might be lawful for any qualified person who was present, to interpret such obscure passages of Scripture as might occur. 3d, That baptism should be administered in the language of the country. 4th, That the Lord's supper should be dispensed in the same manner, and should be given in both kinds, agreeably to the institution of our Saviour. 5th, That the wicked and scandalous lives of churchmen should be reformed, that the people might no longer have occasion to contemn their ministry; and that this reformation should be re-

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gulated by the precepts of the New Testament, the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly laws of the Emperor Justinian*.

The address, with the supplication, was presented to the regent by Sir James Sandilands, venerable from his years, and from the amiableness and respectability of his character. There can be little doubt that it occasioned to her much uneasiness. Attached, from principle, to the Romish faith —guided by political motives in the humanity which she had shewn to the protestants, she beheld, with alarm, the consistency and the extent of their de-

Policy adopted by her.

* Knox, ... ii. p. 120, 121. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 311. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 119. Calderwood's History, p. 3. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. p. 80. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 409. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 147. Buchanan, Spottiswoode, and Burnet differ from the others in their account of the requests, inserting particularly one respecting the election of ministers. There can, however, be no doubt of the accuracy of the paper, which is given at full length by Knox; and it is probable that the added article was taken from a subsequent representation made by the protestants to an ecclesiastical assembly. But although Knox is correct in the matter of the paper, he is, as is not uncommon with him, wrong as to the date, and Calderwood has fallen into the same mistake. These writers affirm, that the first petition to the regent, with the requests annexed to it, was presented before the death of Mill. But in addition to the circumstance, that the petition seems to have originated from a new cause of complaint, it is apparent from the first request, that when it was presented, the marriage of Mary with the dauphin had taken place. Now, this did not happen till about a fortnight after Mill's death. Buchanan, and the other historians, are therefore right in dating it after the martyrdom of Mill, and it probably, as may be inferred from Buchanan, was presented towards the end of summer, or in the beginning of winter.

mands. Fortunately for them, the same cause which had secured to them so great a degree of the royal favour, still continued to operate. Although the marriage of Mary had taken place, the firmness of the commissioners had defeated the insidious policy of the French court, and it was necessary to solicit from parliament, the matrimonial crown which the regent was anxious to place on the head of the dauphin. The friends of the Hamilton family, the primate, and as many of the clergy as he could influence, were averse to this measure; and as the queen relied very much upon the supporters of the new religious opinions, she could not, almost on the eve of a meeting of the estates, incur the hazard of offending the reformers, by expressing her real sentiments, or even by leading them to suspect what was the true light in which she regarded them. Determined, therefore, to yield for the moment, she not only received their address with the most gracious condescension, but she actually promised to protect their preachers, until parliament should have taken measures with respect to them; and she permitted them to perform divine service in the vulgar tongue, under this one condition, imposed from her desire to avoid tumults, that they would not assemble publickly in Edinburgh or Leith *.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 191, 192. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 119. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 311. Calderwood, p. 5. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 409. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 444. Collier has,

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The Congregation received, with the most unfeigned gratitude, this favourable reply. Persuaded of her friendly disposition towards them, entertaining no doubt of her sincerity, they determined to support her administration; and, in compliance with her wishes, they prohibited one of their teachers from following his intention of going to Leith *.

The regent's determination, guarded as it anxiously was, proved highly offensive to the clergy; and notwithstanding her secret assurances that she was firmly attached to their interest, and would embrace the first proper opportunity of promoting it, they expressed the most violent and the most incautious resentment †. The protestants, however, convinced of the goodness of their cause, and believing that, from the popularity which they enjoyed, they had little to dread from the enmity of the church, presented to an ecclesiastical convention which met in Edinburgh, the same requests, or requests nearly the same with those which they had submitted to the regent.

Similar requests presented to an ecclesiastical convention. Nov.

Some of the members of this convention were desirous, that the proposals made to them should become the subject of conference or dispute, and to

Effect of this.

in this part of his narration, confounded all dates, and has, of course, without any design, given a very inaccurate account. Heylin has attributed this permission of the regent to the parliament.

* Knox, p. 122. Calderwood, as above.

† Knox, Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 311.

this, in general, the reformers were much inclined; but as they insisted that the Scriptures alone should decide the controversy, while the clergy would admit only the canon law, or the decisions of councils, and claimed for themselves the privilege of pronouncing a final judgment, that is, of taking the victory, all thoughts of adopting this scheme were soon abandoned. There seems, however, to have existed, in the convention, some desire of reconciliation—some willingness to make a few sacrifices, in the hope of preventing the protestants from proceeding so far as they were inclined to go; for it was promised, that if the congregation would preserve the mass—would admit the existence of purgatory, and would offer prayers to the saints, and for the souls of the dead, the church would allow them to address the supreme Being in the language commonly used, and in that language to perform the services connected with the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper *.

What effect might have been produced by such a proposition, at the commencement of the reformation, it is not easy to determine; but it was folly to imagine, that any good consequences could now result from it. The protestants, indeed, were so thoroughly convinced that it could not terminate division, that instead of returning to it any specific

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 311. Knox, B. ii. p. 121. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 119. Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

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answer, they commissioned Erskine of Dun to urge anew their claims before the convention *. The patience of the clergy was exhausted; they did not condescend to listen to him; but loaded him with the most virulent and indecent reproach †.

Parliament.

The parliament, which the regent had so anxiously expected, and to which both the clergy and the reformers had looked forward with no small solicitude, met at Edinburgh, in the end of November. The lords of the Congregation, still fully persuaded that they might repose with confidence on the promises of the queen, shewed much eagerness in promoting her views respecting the matrimonial crown. That they might not, however, lose so favourable an opportunity of advancing their own cause, they presented to her the articles which they wished to receive parliamentary sanction. They were led to adopt this method, both from a wish to testify the highest respect for the regent, and from the belief that she would take an active part in procuring for them all which they required ‡. These articles were of the greatest importance, containing the leading principles by which the protestants in Scotland were then distinguished; while the manner in which they were framed, evinced a coolness of deliberation, which is at all times the best security

Petition of the Congregation.

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 119.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 312. Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

‡ Knox, B. ii. p. 124. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 5.

for accomplishing the most arduous attempts. The lords of the Congregation, in their own name, and in that of their brethren, earnestly prayed: 1. That all acts of parliament, empowering churchmen to proceed against heretics, might be abrogated or suspended till, in a lawful general council, the controversies relating to religion should be decided. 2. That, in the meantime, to prevent licentiousness of opinion, all who were conceived to be guilty of heresy, should be carried before a temporal judge, the prelates and their officers having only the power of accusing; that an authentic copy of the accusation should be delivered to the person accused, and a competent period be allowed to him to prepare his defence. 3. That all lawful defences should be received from persons accused of heresy, and that they should be allowed to object to witnesses, according to law. 4. That the person accused should be permitted to interpret his own meaning, and that his declaration should carry more weight than the deposition of any witness whatever; seeing that no person ought to suffer for religion, who is not obstinate in his opinions. Lastly, That none of the Congregation should be condemned for heresy, unless it were proved, by the word of God, that they had erred from the faith which the Holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to salvation *.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 123, 124. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 119, 120. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 8, 9. Keith, B. i. ch. 8. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 147.

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1558. Proceedings in consequence of it.

When the regent received this memorial, she affected to feel much earnestness to gain the great objects kept in view by those from whom it proceeded. She expressed ardent zeal for the relief of her protestant subjects; but fully sensible of the delicate and perplexing situation in which, by the production of such a paper in parliament, she would be placed, she had recourse to her usual expedient to prevent its being produced. She endeavoured to persuade the petitioners, that she was averse to any public discussion with regard to it, merely from the dread that the exasperation of the priesthood, which would thus be excited, might prevent those great political arrangements which were about to be completed; but she assured them, that as soon as these were adjusted, she would unequivocally shew her attachment to men, who, though dissenting from the religion, had shewn the most laudable desire to support and strengthen the government of their country *.

With these assurances, the lords of the Congregation were for sometime satisfied; but at length, either suspecting that the regent was not sincere, or unwilling that parliament should be dissolved without its attention being at all directed to the religious state of the kingdom, they drew up a protestation, in which they not only enumerated their grievances,

Protestation.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 124. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 120. Calderwood, p. 6. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 147. Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

but turned away from themselves the blame of any commotions to which the neglect of these grievances might eventually give rise. The protestation is written with much energy, and most perspicuously developes the firmness, the expectations, and the rational sentiments of those by whom it was composed.

" It is not unknown to this honourable parliament, what controversy is, of late years, arisen betwixt those who will be called prelates and rulers of the church, and a great number of us, the nobility and commonality of this realm, for the true worshipping of God, the duty of ministers, and the right administration of the holy sacraments; and how we have complained to the queen-regent, that our consciences are burdened by unprofitable ceremonies, and we are compelled to endure many idolatrous abuses; that such as take on them ecclesiastical offices, do perform no part of the duty which is required of true ministers, and that we and our brethren are most unjustly oppressed by their usurped authority. We also suppose it to be sufficiently known, that we were of mind, at this present parliament, to seek redress of these enormities; but considering that the troubles of the time do not suffer such a reformation, as we, by the warrant of God's word, do require, we are enforced to delay that which we most earnestly desire. Yet, lest our silence should give occasion to our adversaries to think that we repent of our former intentions,

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we cannot cease to protest for remedy, against that most unjust tyranny which we heretofore most patiently have sustained. Therefore, first, we protest, that seeing we cannot obtain a just reformation, according to God's word, that it be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience, as we must answer unto God, until such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ's church, and purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge; offering ourselves to prove the same, whensoever the sacred authority shall please to give us audience. Secondly, we protest, that neither we nor any other that godly wish to join with us in the true faith, which is grounded upon the invincible word of God, shall incur any danger of life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such acts as have passed heretofore in favour of our adversaries, or for violating such rites as have been invented by men without the commandment of God. We, thirdly, protest, that if any tumult or uproar, shall arise amongst the members of the realm, for the diversity of religion, and if it shall chance, that abuses be violently reformed, the crime be not imputed to us, who now do most humbly seek, that all things may be reformed by order; but, that whatsoever inconvenience may arise, for want of timely redress, the same may be imputed to those that will not now hearken to our petitions for reformation. And, last, we protest, that these our re-

quests, proceeding from conscience, do tend to no other end but to the reformation of abuses in religion; most humbly beseeching the sacred authority, to think of us as faithful and obedient subjects, and to take us under their protection, keeping that impartiality, which becometh God's lieutenants to use towards those that, in his name, do call for defence against cruel oppressors and blood-thirsty tyrants *."

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There is, in this solemn declaration, a vigour and an elevation of sentiment, which shew, very strikingly, how powerful an effect the reformation, combined with the circumstances which attended it, had already produced upon those who adopted its principles. Only a short time had elapsed from the period, when the great body of the people bent under the yoke of feudal slavery—when most of the nobility, delighting in rude splendour, or indulging in savage licentiousness, were sunk in the most deplorable ignorance. But we trace here a strong sense of the rights of men—an union of interest between different classes of the community, which had been before unknown; a resolute determination to assert liberty of conscience, conjoined, however, with the utmost desire to submit to the established government, where submission was not a crime,

Remarks on it.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 124, 125. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 120. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 0. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 409. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 155, 156.

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and to avoid those tumults which their ancestors would have considered it as honourable to excite. Amidst all the wretchedness which an erroneously directed love of liberty has unhappily occasioned, it should never be forgotten, that liberty is the most precious of blessings; that to it we are indebted for whatever is great and good in the human character; that it calls into exercise those feelings, and awakens those desires, which lead to the cultivation of science, and to the improvement of the noblest arts; that, although it has been associated with looseness in moral and religious sentiments, it naturally tends to invigorate virtue, to impress upon the mind the importance and the beauty of true religion. There is a tranquillity which the unresisted arm of despotism often creates; but it is the tranquillity of the tomb, from which we shrink with horror. Who does not prefer to this the contemplation of men struggling for freedom, asserting that independence, without which the dignity of our species is degraded or destroyed.

It is obvious, from the protestation, that they who formed it were aware, that the continuance of the system of persecution would involve the country in the calamities of civil war; and by the anxiety which they expressed, that those calamities should not be imputed to them, they plainly signified, that they considered it as a duty, the neglect of which would be infamous, not to avoid a contest by any compliance which would endanger their religion,

or expose to ecclesiastical tyranny those by whom that religion was professed.

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After the protestation was read in parliament, the lords of the Congregation requested that it might be inserted in the records of that assembly. This was refused; and indeed it could not have been granted without giving the countenance of parliament to demands striking at the foundation of laws, which, for many ages, had been in force in Scotland. The regent, however, declared that she was deeply impressed with the justice of the claims—that she would keep them in her recollection, and would use every effort to bring the disputes which were now so keenly agitated, to a happy termination.*

Regent becomes decidedly hostile to the protestants.

Her great object of obtaining for the dauphin the matrimonial crown being at length, notwithstanding the opposition of Arran, who protested against it, accomplished, the political motives which had induced her to be lenient to the protestants were destroyed. It is, therefore, not improbable, that her prejudices in favour of the church would alone have soon given to her administration, in so far as it related to them, a new direction; but other powerful causes contributed to alienate her from them, and to determine her to adopt that fatal policy, from which so much suffering and wretchedness resulted to Scotland.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 124. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 120. Calderwood, p. 6. Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

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Her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain, eminent for insinuation, address, and talents, had succeeded in establishing unbounded influence over the French court—had banished from it the wisest and the most attached counsellors of their sovereign. The marriage of their niece with the dauphin enlarged their ambition, and the death of Mary Queen of England suggested to them schemes, the accomplishment of which would have gratified equally their love of power, and their zeal for the catholic faith.

Nov. 17.

The accession of Elizabeth to the English crown, opposed the most formidable obstacle to the re-establishment of the influence of the church. That princess, who, during her sister's reign, had acted with the most consummate prudence, avowed, soon after her elevation to the throne, her partiality for the reformed religion, and her resolution to establish it in her dominions. She had been called to sway the sceptre by the unanimous voice of parliament—had succeeded in gaining the affections of the great part of her subjects, and had already begun to display the talents by which her future reign was so eminently distinguished. From all these causes, the house of Guise entertained towards her the most inveterate enmity; and they resolved to disturb her tranquillity or to endanger her throne. For this purpose, they suggested to Henry, King of France, that the Queen of Scotland should lay claim to the sovereignty of England, and that she and

the dauphin her husband should assume the title and use the arms of the monarchs of that country *. As this offensive claim could be realized only by force, the most effectual mode of employing it was to take advantage of their influence in Scotland, and to unite, with what troops could be raised there, succours from France. It was apparent, however, that so long as the reformation was countenanced or tolerated in Scotland, they who adhered to it would resist every attempt to make war upon a princess, who was regarded as the bulwark of the protestant faith. It became thus with the family of Guise, a matter both of policy and of religious principle, to let loose against the Scotish reformers the horrors of persecution. Perhaps the formidable influence which these reformers had acquired, rather accelerated the measures taken against them; because it was hoped that the struggle, which would probably ensue from opposing them, would afford a plausible pretext for sending a French army into Scotland, and would thus render more successful that attack upon Elizabeth, of which, amidst all the negotiations at Cambray, amidst the numerous professions of amity used by the sovereigns, and the actual conclusion of treaties of peace

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 609. Sir James Melvill's Memoirs, p. 23. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 312. Very satisfactory information respecting the views of the house of Guise, with regard to Elizabeth, may be found in a letter from Dr Wotton to Secretary Cecil, dated from Brussels, 9th January 1559, inserted in Dr Forbes's transactions of Elizabeth.

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1558. between England and France, and between England and Scotland, the insincere and profligate uncles of Mary never for a moment lost sight*.

1559. When the resolution to hold up Mary as the rival of Elizabeth was fully matured, Bettancourt, a confidential agent, was dispatched from France to the queen-regent, to unfold to her the policy which she was now required to adopt. He was instructed to announce to her, that the kings of France and Spain had resolved no longer to tolerate the enemies of the church, and that she must concur in the execution of the scheme for effectuating this object; an object so congenial to the wishes and the principles of all who venerated the claims, and acquiesced in the infallibility of the Roman pontiff†.

The affection and the respect which she entertained for the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain, could not fail to produce a considerable effect upon her mind; but they did not trust solely to these natural feelings. Their injunctions were most positive, and they even threatened to withdraw from her their support, if she hesitated to obey them‡.

She was much agitated by the situation in which she was placed. Although attached, by education

* Full information respecting the negociations at Cambray, and the peace which was in consequence concluded, may be found by consulting Forbes's account of the public transactions of Queen Elizabeth, Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, Rapin, Vol. II., Stowe's Annals, Camden's Annals, and Burnet's History of the Reformation in England.

† Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 23, 24. ‡ Ibid. p. 24.

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and conviction, to the religion of Rome, the frequent communications which she had held with the protestants, had diminished her prejudices against them; and without a total disregard of principle, without obliterating from her memory the most solemn and explicit promises, it was impossible for her to dwell upon the projected change in her administration, without emotions of shame and of anguish. Possessed of an excellent understanding, she had appreciated, much more justly than her brothers could do, the strength and the spirit of those whom they wished her to oppress. She saw numberless difficulties to be surmounted in carrying their views into execution; and the real anxiety which she felt for the happiness of her people, must have made her shrink from becoming the instrument of interrupting domestic peace, and of ruining the prosperity which she had laboured to promote. She accordingly remonstrated with her brothers; represented to them the consequences which she apprehended from driving the protestants to despair; but infatuated by ambition, and impatient of counsel which tended to limit or to annihilate their plans of aggrandizement, they insisted that she should follow the line of conduct which they had so unwisely and so imperiously prescribed.*

Unwilling to involve herself in a dispute with the court of France, she had not fortitude or inclination

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24. Memoires de Michel de Castelnau, apud Jebb, in his work entitled, De Vita et Rebus Gestis Serenissimæ Principis Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, &c. Edition 1725, Vol. II. p. 446.

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to adhere to her own sentiments. She immediately altered her deportment to the reformers; and acted towards them with a haughtiness and a contemptuous severity, which too plainly showed that they could no longer hope for her support *.

She could not, however, at once cast aside all appearance of wishing to compose the dissensions which she had pledged herself that she would endeavour to remove. She attempted, by mingling gaiety with social intercourse, to withdraw the minds of the nobility from the subjects by which they had been so powerfully agitated; and when this had no effect in diminishing the ardent zeal which she was eager to extinguish, she summoned an assembly of the most learned and most respectable of the clergy, probably from the desire that, in throwing off the mask, she might appear to be guided by anxiety to defend the decrees of men so fully competent to enlighten her conscience and to regulate her faith†. This convocation met in the beginning of March.

An Assembly of the Clergy.

March 2.

The protestants, unwilling to believe that they were completely excluded from the royal favour, and desirous to embrace every proper occasion of urging their demands, presented to the regent what they entitled the first articles, probably meaning

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 312. Knox, p. 126. Spottiswoode, p. 120. Calderwood, p. 6. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 288, 289.

† Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 504. Keith, B. ii. ch. 8.

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the essential principles of reformation*. These she transmitted by the Earl of Huntly, for the consideration of the convention. They contained the requests which had been before made to the queen, but several new ones were added, which, as has been observed, some of our historians erroneously represent as having formed a part of the first petition. The chief addition related to the election of bishops and of parish priests. The Congregation insisted that the former should be elected with the consent of the gentlemen of the diocese, the latter with the consent of the parishioners. They again entreated that prayers might be said, and the sacraments administered, in the vulgar tongue; that incumbents, not qualified to discharge their duty, might be removed; and then recurred to what was the constant theme of the adversaries, and what was most deeply lamented by the candid and enlightened friends of the church—the indecent and excessive immorality of the priesthood †. The synod debated upon the articles thus submitted to them; but assured that the church would now receive the full support of government,

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 504.

† That the greater part of the clergy were most irregular in their conduct, the open accusations of the reformers, and the numerous injunctions of ecclesiastical assemblies, place beyond a doubt. In looking over the papers belonging to the family of Dun, which Mr Erskine, the representative of that family, most politely permitted me to inspect, I found one, entitled, "Counsall of the Deyne and Chapter of Abirdene to my Lord Bischoppe," dated 5th January 1558-9. It is written in a very old hand, but having, through the kindness of Pro-

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and sanguine in their expectations of the efficacy of the league, which the most powerful continental sovereigns had formed for extinguishing the light of the reformation, they returned an answer, which they must have known not to be calculated to restore peace. They retracted even what, under certain conditions, the synod of the former year had promised to permit; declaring that they could not consent to the use of any language but the Latin in the public prayers, as it had been appointed by the church, under the most severe penalties, and could not be altered without violating the majesty of God. With respect to the election of bishops and pastors, they decreed that the injunctions of the canon law must be observed; and, with considerable art, probably in consequence of the suggestion of the regent, they fortified this decree, by adding, that as the election of prelates was a privilege belonging to the crown, requiring, in order to its being exercised, only the approbation of the pope,

fessor Stuart of the Marischall College, Aberdeen, got it transcribed, it appeared that it had been communicated to Bishop Keith, and had actually been published by him among the papers prefixed to his History. As, however, it is an authentic and a very curious document, shewing, from authority which cannot be disputed, the state of clerical morals, and the great cause which excited the anxiety of the church to amend them; as from the place assigned to it by Keith, it is often overlooked; and as Professor Stuart's copy is, I have reason to think, very accurate, I have inserted the paper in the Appendix, No. III. with several remarks, intended to shew what conclusions may be fairly deduced from it, with regard to the moral situation of the clergy, and the progress which had then been made by the reformers.

to determine any thing in opposition thereto, at a time when the queen was so young, would be a piece of very high indiscretion and insolence—a treasonable encroachment upon the royal prerogative. As to the reformation of the clergy, they coldly, and in general terms, resolved that the decrees of the council of Trent should be put in force *.

March. Violent conduct of the regent.

The regent now threw aside all reserve. She had succeeded in regaining the affections of the clergy, and she fulfilled the assurances which she had constantly, though secretly, given to them, by defending the rash, and even ludicrous decisions which they had not scrupled to pronounce. When we compare the violence which she so soon manifested, with her former prudence and moderation, it is impossible not to be struck with her inconsistency. Necessity might have compelled her to arm against the protestants, to shut her ear to all their solicitations for indulgence, to every measure which

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 504, 505. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 289. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. upon the authority of Leslie. None of our other historians, with the exception of Pitscottie, have mentioned the proceedings of this assembly; but upon Leslie and Holinshed we may rely with confidence, particularly on the former, who had the best means of information. Lindsay's account of the proceedings is different from that of Leslie, which upon every account is to be preferred. Pitscottie, p. 209.—He confirms what has been said above of the motives by which the clergy were influenced. Hailes's Historical Memorials of Scotish councils, p. 38. From the same inadvertence already noticed, his lordship says, that this council sat for more than a year; it sat only a few weeks.

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could promote or secure their liberty. Even this, however, she might have done without that indecency of insult, by which she seemed anxious to increase irritation. If we suppose that she was ever sincere in her desire to conciliate them, in the numberless promises which she gave to them, we must attribute her sudden and unexpected vehemence of opposition to her dread, lest the partiality to them, which she was conscious that she had felt, might be suspected and condemned by her brothers. If she was following her real inclinations, which policy alone had disguised or suspended, we must, in detestation of her hyprocrisy, extinguish the admiration with which many of her professions, and a great part of her administration, would otherwise most justly have been contemplated.

The Congregation soon perceived that she had finally deserted them. She issued a proclamation, commanding all classes of men to conform to the Roman catholic religion, to resort daily to mass, and to make confession to the priests. She informed several of the protestant lords that they must desert their principles, shewing them her commission from France, and pointing out to them the danger of disobedience *. She issued rigorous injunctions, respecting the celebration of Easter; inquired how these were observed; and she summoned the most eminent of the reformed preachers to appear before a parliament to be held at Stirling,

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24.

that they might answer the accusations which would be brought against them *.

1559. May 10th.

This must have been perceived to be an act of hostility, but the protestant leaders were anxious to soften the antipathy with which she now regarded them. They commissioned the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, to wait upon her, and to entreat that she would not molest their ministers unless they could be charged with preaching false doctrine, or with acting inconsistently with the sanctity which became their office, and with the submission which they owed to government †. Nothing could be more moderate than this request; nothing more respectful than the manner in which it was presented. But what should have conciliated, produced quite a different effect. Determined upon persecution, she listened

Moderation and firmness of the protestants.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 126. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 121. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation in Eng. Vol. II. p. 410. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 506. Calderwood, p. 7. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 289. Leslie and Holinshed from him, say, that Knox was included in the summons, which could not be the case, as he had not yet returned from Geneva.

† Buchanan represents the summons to the ministers as having been issued after this deputation; but it is apparent that Glencairn and Campbell chiefly pled the cause of the ministers; which would have been unnecessary, had no particular act been directed against them. Knox fully explains this. They were summoned before the deputation, but the regent, alarmed at the effect of the summons, consented to delay it. It was renewed, however, soon after, in consequence of intelligence from Perth. Compare Buch. Lib. xvi. p. 314, and Keith, B. i. ch. viii. p. 82. with Knox, B. ii. p. 126. Most of the other historians speak only of the summons first issued.

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with the utmost impatience to the representation of the commissioners; and when it was concluded, she, with much rashness and passion, exclaimed, "That in spite of all which they could do, their ministers should be banished Scotland, although they preached as soundly as St Paul had done." By men, under the influence of the most ardent religious zeal, this reply, which was irreverent as it was unwise, must have been heard with the deepest abhorrence. They, however, preserved the calmness which the nature of their situation rendered so important, and reminded her of those promises in favour of the protestants, which she had so often and so recently made. This increased her irritation. Unable to disown what multitudes had heard, she answered with a disingenuity which politicians often most erroneously confound with prudence, That the promises of princes should not be urged upon them when they could not conveniently fulfil them. Although farther solicitation, or farther argument, was vain, Glencairn and his friend did not shrink from their duty; they, on their part, concluded this most remarkable conference with these impressive and prophetic words: "If you have resolved to keep no faith with your subjects, we will renounce our allegiance, and leave you to reflect upon the calamities which will thus be entailed on the country." This manly language struck her with amazement. She instantly changed her tone, and dismissed the commissioners with an assurance

Effect upon the regent.

that she would advise, and would yet labour to remedy, in the most peaceable and effectual manner, the evils of which they complained *. 1559.

It now required little penetration to discern, that the lords of the Congregation would be compelled to seek redress by the sword; and it was not long before matters visibly hastened to the extremity, which a wise and lenient government would, with the utmost anxiety, have exerted itself to avoid. The friends of the reformation, restrained by conscientious motives from obeying the proclamation in favour of the established religion, resolved not to desert their ministers, who had strengthened these motives. In the town of Perth, they openly professed the new tenets; their preachers enforced them in public assemblies, and the foundation of the Scotish protestant church was there actually laid. When an account of this was transmitted to the regent, she resigned herself to the violence of passion. She regarded the contumacy which thus was exhibited, as the first step to rebellion, and she was convinced that no time should be lost in taking the strongest measures for asserting her authority, and crushing those whom she considered as guilty of setting it at defiance. She immediately ordered Lord Ruthven, the provost or chief magistrate of Perth, to suppress the meetings of the protestants;

Proceedings at Perth.

Regent offended.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 312. Knox, B. ii. p. 126. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 121. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 410. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 446, 447.

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and when he represented the difficulty of doing it,—offering to inflict any punishment upon the violators of law, but pointing out the impossibility of compelling conscience,—far from being warned by the honest declaration, she, with much warmth, insinuated that he was not sufficiently devoted to his sovereign; and threatened, that both he and the persons whom she wished him to persecute, should soon repent of what they had done *. Not deterred by his unexpected refusal to obey her commands, she ordered Methven, who had been very successful in increasing the number of protestants in Dundee, to be apprehended; and she renewed her efforts to prevail upon the inhabitants of those towns most devoted to the reformation, to countenance by their presence the celebration of mass. When she failed in both these schemes, for Methven, upon being informed of what was intended against him, had left Dundee, her indignation was heightened, and she again summoned all the most distinguished protestant teachers to appear at Stirling †.

The lords of the Congregation made another attempt to disarm her resentment, and to prevent the persecution of their preachers; but when they found it totally ineffectual, they came to the reso-

* Knox, B. ii. p. 126. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 121. Buchan. Lib. xvi. p. 318. Burnet, Vol II. 410 Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 166. Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

† Knox and Buchanan, as last quoted. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 7.

lution of attending the ministers to Stirling, and of giving to them all the support which the countenance and attachment of a very numerous and respectable part of the community could extend to them. For this purpose, numbers from the counties of Angus and Mearns, and particularly from the town of Dundee, repaired to Perth. They went without arms, and probably without the least intention of proceeding to hostilities. Eager to prevent any misrepresentation of their conduct, Erskine of Dun, whose zeal for the reformed faith was engrafted upon the warmest loyalty to his sovereign, was sent to the regent, to prevent her from being alarmed at the approach of such a concourse of people, and to explain to her what was their object in assembling *.

Erskine of Dun sent to her.

She listened with much attention to the representation which he made to her; and fully sensible of the fervent attachment of the multitude to the instructors by whom they were directed; aware that if, in the presence of their followers, these instructors were condemned or punished, the most disas-

* Buchanan states, that the queen, alarmed at the multitude, sent for Erskine, who had great influence over the Congregation, to solicit that he would disperse them; and Spottiswoode rather countenances this opinion. I agree, however, with Knox and Keith, in thinking that Erskine was sent by the Congregation. This was quite in harmony with the rest of their conduct: Knox could scarcely be mistaken with respect to the fact; and in every point of view, indeed, it is more probable than the other account. Compare Knox, p. 127, and Keith p. 83, with Buchanan, p. 313. and Spottiswoode, p. 121. See also Calderwood, p. 7. and Pitscottie, p. 202.

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1559. Her dissimulation.

trous excesses might be apprehended; she considered it as prudent to have recourse to dissimulation. She accordingly gave the most explicit assurances, that, if the people would peaceably disperse, she would relinquish her intention of proceeding against the preachers, and would immediately make such regulations, as would convince them that she was again solicitous to secure to them the protection which she had so long permitted them to enjoy*.

Erskine had no doubt of her sincerity. He immediately wrote to the chief men of his party, acquainting them with her friendly determination, and requesting them to comply with what she had required. When we consider the decided and offensive manner in which she had abandoned the protestants, we can ascribe the credulity, with which he listened to her assurances, only to that anxiety which he, in common with most of the Congregation, long felt to avoid an open rupture with the civil power. This credulity, however, was not universal. Some of the most zealous or discerning of those who remained at Perth, upon receiving the report, and the advice of their commissioner, intimated their suspicion of deceit, and very wisely insisted that they should prosecute their intention, at least until the citation had, by the proper authority, been revoked or cancelled. The majority,

* [illegible] p. 127. Spottiswoode, p. 121. Buchan. p. 313. Keith, p. 8[illegible]

however, were of opinion, that they should place implicit reliance in the promises of the regent; and they all felt much reluctance to act in opposition to the opinion of Erskine, of whose attachment to them they had received the most satisfactory proof. Acting agreeably to these sentiments, the preachers, with some barons and gentlemen, continued at Perth, but almost the whole of their attendants returned home, convinced that the danger which they had dreaded had, by their firmness and their union, been averted *.

Hitherto the Congregation had acted with a degree of cool deliberation, which reflects on them the highest honour. Far from shewing the fury of blinded zealots, they kept open the door of peace and reconciliation; and nothing but the infatuated and unprincipled policy of the regent, could have so soon interrupted the tranquillity, which, by diffe-

* Knox, B. ii. p. 127. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 121. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 313. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. p. 84. Burnet, vol. II. p. 410. It might amuse the reader to compare the account which Leslie has given of Erskine's embassy to the regent with the accounts of other historians. He represents the whole protestants as alarmed at the summons; says what is true, that Dun was sent by his party, but most absurdly thus describes the object for which he was sent, "qui ab illa poenam absentibus, publico decreto irrogandam deprecaretur." This is not only contradicted by the best authority, but is disproved by the whole of the subsequent history. The regent's conduct in this matter was so indefensible, that even Leslie could not have approved of it; he was probably averse to make an accurate inquiry about it, and adopted any account which freed him from the necessity of condemning where his zeal would have rendered condemnation most unpleasant. Lib. 8. p. 505.

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rent conduct, she might, at least for some time, have easily preserved. Casting aside all regard, not merely to honour, but to the most obvious political prudence, she was no sooner satisfied that the multitude had separated, than she resolved to violate the sacred declarations which she had made to Erskine, and to proceed against the ministers with the most unrelenting severity. On the day upon which they should, according to the summons, have appeared at Stirling, they were, on account of their absence, which her own earnest entreaties had occasioned, denounced as rebels, and all her subjects were prohibited, under the most severe penalties, from harbouring or supporting them *.

Erskine, enraged at the perfidy of the regent, deploring the part which he had been led to act, trembling for the consequences which might result from the cruel disappointment of the protestants, and alarmed for his personal safety, instantly left the court, and hastened to Perth. After vindicating himself from any suspicion of negligence, or want of cordiality in the cause of the Congregation, he explained to those of his friends whom he found still there, the treachery of the queen—convinced them of her implacable hatred, and impressed on them, that as dissimulation could no longer be practised, they must prepare themselves for the active

* Buchanan, p. 115. Knox, p. 127. Spottiswoode, p. 121. Calderwood, p. 7. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 202. Keith, p. 83. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 110. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 407.

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and violent opposition by which it would be succeeded *. They were, as was to be expected, highly exasperated. They saw that they were regarded as men with whom faith was to be kept only when it was advantageous to keep it; and the contempt implied in this treatment, inflicted a wound on their feelings, which the most lenient administration, and the most tender concern for their happiness, might afterwards have been unable to heal. 1559.

May. Knox arrives in Scotland.

The force of these impressions was much increased by the activity, the zeal, and the indignant eloquence of Knox, who had, at this critical period, arrived in Scotland. He had received, in the end of the preceding year, the most urgent solicitations to visit his native country. These solicitations were enforced by the opinion and the authority of the most eminent protestants at Geneva; and after having made his final arrangements in that city, he hastened to exert his influence in accomplishing a revolution which he had long anticipated. He was anxious to pass through England, that he might meet with those whom he had formerly instructed, or that he might lay the foundation of a connexion between the government of Elizabeth and the Scotish reformers. His intention, however, he was prevented from carrying into execution; for when, agreeably to the practice of the age, he solicited the permission of that princess, it was positively refused. He had a few years before this published, on the

His journey.

1550. or 1557.

* Buchanan, Knox, Spottiswoode, Keith, &c. last quoted.

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continent, a political work, which he entitled the First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment and Empire of Women. His object was, to prove that it was unlawful for women to exercise the supreme authority; a doctrine which, in the earlier periods of Scotish history, had, by some eminent politicians, been strenuously maintained *.

His mind was directed to this subject by the cruel reign of the English Mary, a reign so fatal to the protestants; and his tendency to embrace the theory was undoubtedly increased by the state of the royal family in Scotland. His eagerness to support his favourite principle, led him into the embarrassment so often experienced by those who too hastily adopt general maxims; and he soon had cause to regret either that he had not remained silent, or at least had not restricted what, with his usual strength of language, he had inculcated.

Elizabeth, who watched over her prerogative with the most unceasing jealousy, was highly displeased with this publication; and although, from her having embraced the protestant faith, she might have been inclined to countenance one of its most intrepid defenders, she could not consent to admit into her dominions a man whose theoretical principles tended to subvert her throne. Knox most

* See the eloquent oration which Buchanan puts into the mouth of the celebrated Bishop Kennedy, having, for its object, to prevent the mother of James III. from obtaining the regency during her son's minority. Buch. Lib. xii. p. 221, &c.

acutely felt the disappointment. He wrote to Cecil upon the subject; and although he did not choose to renounce what had been once his favourite speculation, he devised a fanciful and absurd distinction, in consequence of which, he contended, that while the general principle remained unshaken, Elizabeth might be lawfully obeyed by her subjects; and he promised that she would find him most friendly to her government. Unwilling, however, to wait the issue of a controversy which might be delayed or neglected, and eager to visit a scene now so peculiarly interesting to him, he embarked at Dieppe, and arrived at Leith on the second of May. He remained only two days in Edinburgh, after which he went to Dundee, where he joined the inhabitants who were going to Perth, to countenance and protect their teachers *.

His memorable sermon at Perth.

Upon none did the report of Erskine produce a deeper impression than upon Knox. He availed himself of the indignation which the conduct of the regent had so justly excited; and, in a memorable sermon, delivered on the day subsequent to the condemnation of the preachers, he impressed upon his audience the infinite importance of those principles for which they were now called strenuously

May 11.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 127., and B. iii. p. 204, &c. Strype's Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, Vol. I. ch. ix. p. 120—122. David Buchanan's Life of Knox, prefixed to the history, p. 22. Mackenzie's Life of Knox, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 116. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 7.

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to contend. In the style common in the discourses of those days, he spoke with vehemence against the idolatry of the church of Rome; represented, in the most glowing colours, the detestation with which idolatry had ever been regarded by the supreme Being; repeated the commandments, which, at various times, had been given for the destruction of the monuments of idolatrous worship; and inveighed against the mass, which he denominated an abomination. The zeal of the people was roused or inflamed. They felt all that attachment to their faith, which their energetic teacher was anxious to inspire; they regarded the established religion as in direct opposition to divine truth; and had no doubt that it was their duty to attempt its destruction *.

These feelings might soon have exhausted their strength, had they not been heightened by the imprudence or infatuation of a priest. This man, to show his contempt for the sentiments which Knox had so vigorously inculcated, began the celebration of mass in the presence of several of the most vehement advocates for the reformation; exhibiting, in the most conspicuous and irritating manner, the images of the saints whose mediation he intended to implore. A young man exclaimed, that such open contempt of God's law was intolerable; and

* Knox, B. ii. p. 127. Buch. Lib. xvi. p. 313. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 121. Calderwood, p. 7. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. p. 94.

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the priest, with the same rashness which he had already displayed, and with a temper certainly not suitable to the solemn work in which he was engaged, punished by a blow this forwardness and presumption. Such an injury, the youth, in the state of mind in which he then was, could not, or did not wish to bear. He, with a stone, struck down one of the images; and his companions, catching the spirit by which he was actuated, demolished the altar upon which the priest was officiating. A report of what had happened rapidly spreading through the town, multitudes, who, from its being the hour of dinner, had dispersed, returned, joined their friends, and proceeded to more extensive devastations. They attacked the monasteries of the Black and Gray friars, bore down the resistance which was made to them, and, having stripped these houses of the wealth, which, notwithstanding their vow of poverty, the fathers had diligently accumulated, they bent their fury against the residence of the Carthusians, a most splendid edifice, and levelled it with the ground *.

Attack on the monasteries.

These outrages were committed by the people, in opposition, as Knox mentions, to the admonitions

* Knox, B. ii. p. 127, 128. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 313. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 121. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 203. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 506. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 290. Keith, p. 84, 85. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 157. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 419. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 447.

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of the preachers and to the orders of the magistrates. He probably intended this observation as an apology for the higher classes of the protestants; but it cannot be supposed that he himself vehemently condemned what had been done, for he soon afterwards instigated those who heard him to similar destruction *.

Disinterestedness of the populace.

Amidst the eagerness and impetuosity of the populace, it must be recorded, that no mean and interested motives in the slightest degree influenced them. They appropriated none of the riches which they discovered; they permitted the monks to carry off, without molestation, whatever they most valued; and the remainder, surely without any deviation from the views of the founders of these orders, was distributed to the poor †. There was in this a magnanimity, a disinterested regard to principle, which even they who most condemn the violence of the reformers, must admit to be singular—must admit to reflect some honour upon the integrity and the firmness of the teachers, who had been able to restrain or to subdue that propensity to pillage, which, in the tumult of multitudes, is so generally and so openly displayed ‡.

* Knox, p. 127. Keith, p. 85.

† Knox, p. 128. Spottiswoode, p. 121. Lindsay, p. 203. Buchanan, p. 313. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 410. Calderwood, p. 7. Keith, p. 85. Collier, Vol II. p. 447.

‡ Knox, p. 127. Calderwood, p. 7. Collier is the only historian who detracts from the merit of the people, but he does so only by an

The example set by the inhabitants of Perth was followed in the small town of Cupar in Fife. The people there defaced the images, the altars, and other appendages of idolatry, which so shocked the priest, that, in the frenzy of despair, he terminated his existence *.

These acts of outrage, and the others which accompanied the progress of the reformation in Scotland, have, by many who were attached to the protestant faith, been condemned with an asperity which, from the circumstances under which they were committed, is most unwarrantable; and have, by the enemies of Knox, and of the policy which he introduced into the church, been represented as disgraceful to himself, and to the cause which he espoused. The conduct of the Scotish reformers has been inconsiderately contrasted with that of the reformers in England; and the inference has been drawn, and from party motives keenly maintained, that, while the latter were guided by consummate wisdom and exemplary moderation, all the actions and resolutions of the former resulted from fervent and irrational enthusiasm.

Apology for the excesses which attended the introduction of the Reformation into Scotland.

That it is desirable that the magnificent fabrics which our ancestors devoted to the solemnization of the rites of religion had been preserved, no one can for a moment doubt. Who, that has contem-

insinuation totally inconsistent with the strongest historical evidence, and even with his own account.

* Spottiswoode, p. 122. Keith, p. 95.

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plated them with the feelings which such objects are in every susceptible breast calculated to excite, does not trace with regret the mouldering fragments of edifices, the extent and the sublimity of which history might have delighted to record? But we must not yield so far to these impressions, as to be averse to examine into the merit which belongs to the very men by whom the buildings were overturned: we must not forget to take into view, that, without such a degree of enthusiasm as led to these excesses, the inestimable blessings resulting from the reformation, would, in all probability, not have been acquired. Had the people of Scotland been indifferent about their religious opinions, or coldly attached to them—had they not been elevated by that zeal which looked with abhorrence on the pageantry of the ancient superstition, they would have shrunk from the formidable obstacles which they had to encounter; they would have purchased the ease and the security which all men so dearly value, by conforming to the church, or by secretly cherishing their tenets, which would thus have quickly perished. And had the schemes of the regent been successful—had the decaying foundations of the church been strengthened or renewed—had the formidable influence of France completed the subjection of Scotland—ages might have elapsed before civil and religious liberty had been the inheritance of our country; we might even now have, with amazement or with envy, beheld amongst other

nations the admirable form of government by which we are protected—we might yet have been obliged to excite the spirit, the wanderings of which have been so keenly and so injudiciously reprobated.

From the manner in which the reformation was accomplished in England, we cannot reason to what was requisite for the same end in Scotland. In the former country it was the work of the government. The sentiments of the sovereign, except during the short reign of Mary, led and formed the sentiments of the subjects; and interest and honour were thus generally to be found within the pale of the protestant communion. There was consequently no room for that vehemence which impelled the Congregation; and similar devastations to those which they committed, by persons in the situation in which the members of the church of England were placed, could have been ascribed only to unprincipled rebellion, or to the lawless violence of a savage and exasperated multitude.

Before, then, Knox and his adherents be branded as intemperate zealots—be treated with the disdain which minds infinitely inferior to his have not scrupled to entertain and to express, let what has been stated be maturely weighed; and while we read the accounts which have been given, and those which must yet be recorded, of wasted churches and ruined monasteries, let us moderate our lamentation by reflecting, that this was a price, which, however high in the estimation of taste and senti-

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ment, we cannot scruple to have paid for those rights which the reformers had the intrepidity to assert, and which, through their perseverance, have continued to spread happiness and prosperity among the generations by which they have been succeeded.

But while this apology is urged for Knox, it would be injurious to his reputation to conceal one most striking feature in that revolution, which, through his instrumentality, was effectuated. The reformation in Scotland was unstained by blood. The celebrated Leslie, bishop of Ross, a strenuous defender of the church, and consequently disposed to represent, in the least favourable light, the conduct of the men who had united to overthrow it, even where his antipathy to Knox, whom he stigmatizes as inclined to persecution, is not concealed—after deploring the unhappy situation of the catholics, with much candour declares, that the humanity of the lords of the Congregation ought not to be passed over in silence: "When in the plenitude of their power, they banished few on account of religion, doomed still fewer to imprisonment, and put none to death *."

He who has viewed, with heart-rending anguish, the sanguinary atrocities of modern times—who has mourned over the despotism which has long banished that liberty, which the sanguine had fondly anticipated as a general blessing to Europe, should have

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 597.

learnt to reverence men who erected the standard of independence amidst the acclamations of a grateful people; ought rather to be amazed at the small degree of evil which arose from their efforts, than, invidiously and unfairly overlooking their manly struggle for freedom, to point to the calamities or to the desolation which they sometimes unhappily occasioned. CHAP. IX. 1559.

The excesses at Perth and at Cupar, afforded a a pretence for commencing a scheme of operations against the reformers—became the signal of that civil war, the history of which is now to be detailed.

CHAPTER TENTH.

Relative situation of parties....Hostile measures taken by the Regent....She gains many of the Nobles....Intends to take Perth....Pacific efforts of the Congregation.... Negotiations....Treaty....Incautious conduct of the Regent....Incident at Perth....Inhabitants harassed....The Prior of St Andrews and the Earl of Argyll retire in disgust from Court....They assemble forces....Cause of the Reformation interwoven with that of political freedom....Knox....Destruction of the Cathedral at St Andrews....The Primate leaves the city....Troops of the Congregation march to Cupar....Judicious disposition of the army....Royalists wish to negotiate....New treaty ....Regent represents to the French court the state of Scotland....Consultations respecting it....Mission of Sir James Melvil....His conversation with the Prior....Design of his embassy frustrated by the death of the French king....Accession of Francis, the husband of Mary, to the crown of France....Hostility of the Regent to the Congregation.

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1559. May. Relative situation of parties.

IMPORTANT as was the cause which the lords of the Congregation had pledged themselves to support, they must have regarded with much apprehension the situation in which they were placed. Although the multitudes who had embraced the reformed faith had displayed the greatest ardour in defence of their principles, there was reason to dread that

the continuance of hostilities, and the hardships to which they must necessarily submit, would exhaust their patience, or extinguish that glow of heroism which was essential to their success.

The regent, on the other hand, although she had disgusted several of the most respectable of the nobles—although her inconsistent and unjustifiable conduct had, in a considerable degree, alienated the affections of her subjects, still possessed many advantages. She could, through the influence which her high station conferred, secure the avaricious or the needy; she could, from directing the administration of government, act with promptitude and with energy. There were numbers, who, from principles of loyalty and of religion, were sincerely attached to their sovereign and to the church; and she enjoyed the support of the court of France, which, guided by the counsels of her family, she was assured would use every effort for the extirpation of heresy, and for accomplishing the schemes which had been formed for effectuating the subjugation of Scotland. There was actually in that kingdom a French army, composed of troops devoted to their commanders, accustomed to the regularity and to the permanence of military discipline, familiarized with active service, and who, from all these causes, might naturally be expected to evince a decided superiority over forces hastily assembled.

Dark, however, as the prospect in some parts certainly was, the protestant lords did not, and in-

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deed had no cause to resign themselves to despair. Resolved to exert their talents, and to avail themselves of their resources, there were some circumstances in their favour, the great importance of which they did not probably at first fully estimate, but which experience soon deeply impressed upon their minds.

The human character, powerfully influenced by external situation, often assumes a new complexion when that situation has been completely and unexpectedly changed. The reluctance with which the inhabitants of Scotland often obeyed the mandates of their sovereigns to engage in foreign hostilities, the eagerness which they almost uniformly shewed to resume their usual occupations, when the limited period of service which they were bound to exhaust had come to an end, arose from the nature of the government, and from the condition which that government assigned to them. They were led to join the standard of the monarch by a sense of duty which was often weak—often unable to suspend the influence of family attachments, or by habit and respect to what time had sanctioned; but they had no feeling that they were themselves deeply interested in the result of their exertions. In the numerous cases in which plunder could not be acquired, they regarded with indifference, or with detestation, the wanton disputes of their princes; disputes which could not be adjusted without the

desolation of the kingdom, and the slaughter of many of the most vigorous of its defenders.

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But when the people ranked under the banners of the lords of the Congregation, they were influenced by more elevated and energetic motives. The cause was no longer the cause of a sovereign to whom they owed little obligation—whose tyranny had perhaps diminished or annihilated the dearest sources of their happiness;—it was their own. They were obeying the dictates of their consciences and defending the purity of their religion; they united under the conviction that they would be blessed with the peculiar protection of heaven; they were animated by the rousing eloquence of teachers whom they revered, who they knew felt the most tender interest in their welfare, who would gladly share their misfortunes, and who were constantly inculcating, that, by steadiness and perseverance, they would ward off from themselves, and from their families, the cruelty of the most savage and most unrelenting oppression, they would be instrumental in conveying to posterity the invaluable blessings which would result from the triumph of that faith which they had joined to establish.

Political zeal, too, was soon to mingle with their devotion. It was impossible for them long to oppose a government which scarcely recognized the rights of the great body of the people, without feeling that they were men—without beholding the annihilation of that charm which had cast sanctity over

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the sceptre of the oppressor—without imbibing that love of independence, that consciousness of self-importance, that magnanimity and that generosity of sentiment, for which we look in vain under the blasting influence of despotical power.

This interesting revolution in the views and objects of the reformers will become conspicuous in the progress of their history; but its operation had commenced even at the formation of the Congregation, and the effect of it was increased by their prudence and moderation, from which alone the happiest consequences might have been anticipated. Trusting in their strength, they lost not a moment in preparing for the most determined resistance; while, sensible of their weakness, they were ready to listen to the voice of negotiation, and would, at this period, have preferred gaining their privileges by treaty to extorting them by the sword.

Hostile measures taken by the Regent.

The events which had taken place at Perth and at Cupar deeply agitated the regent. In the impetuosity of her passion, she extinguished the caution which, upon such a critical emergency, should have regulated her declarations; and she swore that the atrocities by which her administration had been insulted and set at defiance, should be expiated by the destruction of the town of Perth, and by the blood of its inhabitants. She instantly summoned the Duke of Hamilton or Chatelherault, the Earls of Atholl and Argyll, to attend her with their numerous followers, and, impelled by D'Osell, who was

eager to foment disturbances, and by the clergy who trembled for their existence, she expressly accused the protestants of rebellion. She lamented the demolition of the noble buildings which had been sacrificed to the infuriate zeal of the multitude; bewailing, with peculiar expressions of regret, the ruin of the Carthusian monastery, an edifice which she represented as entitled to the reverence of all who had not renounced allegiance to their sovereign, from its containing the ashes of James I., one of the most amiable and beneficent of the Scotish monarchs.

She gains many of the nobles.

These representations and appeals to the feelings of her subjects, were not made in vain, for many of the nobility readily assembled to chastise or to annihilate what they believed to be disaffection. The Duke of Hamilton, urged by the primate, gave his decided and weighty support; so that, joining to the native troops the French forces, in which she placed the greatest reliance, she soon found herself at the head of an army sufficient, in her estimation, to humble or to subdue her enemies*. Her design was to take the town of Perth by surprize, and thus to crush in the bud what could not, without innumerable calamities, be permitted to reach to maturity. From the difficulty, however, which she experienced in transporting the heavy artillery, she

Intends to take Perth.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 190. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 314. Spottiswoode, Book iii. p. 121. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 7, 8.

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did not act with the requisite celerity; and it was the eighteenth of May before she appeared in the immediate vicinity of the town *.

The preparations of the regent, although they might have been foreseen, were not expected by the Congregation. They imagined that their disavowal of the outrages, which had occasioned these preparations, would have prevented any imputation of criminality; and so confident were they in this opinion, that most of them, immediately after the popular tumults, left Perth †. Knox, however had remained, to impart, as he himself tells us, the religious instruction which the inhabitants were desirous to receive; perhaps also to watch the progress of events, and to sound the alarm if he apprehended the approach of danger ‡.

When the protestant leaders were fully assured that the regent had marched against them, they lost no time in taking proper measures of defence. They dispatched faithful messengers to different parts of the country to alarm their brethren, and they earnestly implored that all who entertained the same sentiments with themselves, would hasten to their assistance—would not desert them when every thing which they most valued was at stake §. This ap-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 314.

† Knox and Spottiswoode as last quoted. See also Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

‡ Knox, B. ii. p. 128.

§ Buchan. Lib. xvi. p. 314. Knox, B. ii. p. 194. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 122. Calderwood, p. 87. Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

peal produced all the effect which could have been expected from it. They were instantly joined by many from the counties adjacent to Perth, the place which they had judiciously chosen as the centre of their operations, and they saw their numbers daily augmented by reinforcements from a greater distance *. CHAP. X. 1559.

But while they thus attempted to secure themselves against the violence with which they were threatened, they resolved that nothing on their part should be wanting to avert the horrors of war; that ignorance of the motives by which they were actuated should not be used as a pretext for having declared against them. They addressed a letter to the regent, written in a manner which shewed the sense entertained of the righteousness of their cause, but which certainly might have turned aside from them the accusation of enmity to their sovereign. It contains declarations of loyalty, evidently not used to deceive, but proceeding from the heart. After calling to her recollection the zeal and fidelity with which they had formerly served her, they professed that they would feel the deepest sorrow in being compelled to take the sword of just defence against all who persecuted them for the sake of religion, and who endeavoured to put restraint upon their consciences, which, they maintained, ought not to be shackled by human authority. They informed her, that if they should be constrained to take Pacific efforts of the Congregation. May 20.

* Knox, Spottiswoode, and Keith, as last quoted.

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arms, they would endeavour to show their innocence to their queen and her husband, and to all Christian princes; solemnly averring that nothing but the dread of destruction had forced them to assemble in a hostile manner; and that, if they were secured in liberty of conscience, they would yield the most dutiful and loyal obedience to the laws of their country, and the commands of their sovereign. They represented to her how inconsistent it was with sound policy, to irritate so large a part of the community as was known to have embraced the reformation; cautioned her against being swayed by the interested and narrow counsels of churchmen; and concluded by imploring that she would suspend all measures of violence, at least till they had received from the queen and the dauphin an answer to the representation which they intended to transmit to them. This letter, signed by the faithful Congregation of Jesus Christ, was dated at Perth, the twenty-second of May.

They, at the same time, wrote to D'Osell, the French general, whose influence over the regent was very great, requesting him to restrain her anger, and pointing out to him that he would violate his duty to his master, if, in the cause of the priesthood, he persecuted and drove into rebellion the unhappy persons against whom these corrupt men had directed their resentment. They also sent warnings of a similar nature to the most eminent officers of the French army *.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 129. Keith, B. i. ch. 8.

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While they displayed so much solicitude to convince the regent and D'Osell, they were not without hope of making a favourable impression upon the nobility who had joined the royal standard—of dissipating their prejudices, and prevailing on them, if not to support, at least not to oppose the claims of the protestants. They directed to them a general letter, written with much care and with much ability, employing arguments adapted to the different classes into which, with respect to religion and government, the nobles were divided. To those of them who were really hostile to the Congregation—who regarded the members of it as contaminated by heresy, and stained by the guilt of sedition, they pled with energy the justice of their cause; insisted upon the harshness and iniquity of refusing to them, what they had so long and so earnestly requested, an opportunity of making their own defence—of confuting by the word of God the doctrines which they opposed. With great force and ingenuity, they stated, that the mere circumstance of their dissenting from the established faith should not be considered as a crime; that our Saviour, and the first teachers of Christianity had been compelled to oppose the reigning superstitions, and by doing so, had imparted to mankind the blessings of pure religion; that antiquity is not the infallible criterion of truth; that by a very different standard what is true ought to be ascertained. They applied to the popish system the maxim of Scripture, that the tree

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is known by its fruits, and expatiating, as they were always disposed to do, upon the immorality and the profaneness of the priesthood, they asserted that this immorality and this profaneness, all who upheld the established religion encouraged or sanctioned. They proceeded to investigate the force of an argument which many had urged, that it was a general duty to obey the supreme authority of the state. In furnishing an answer to this principle, they avowed and inculcated the most rational and most exalted maxims of political liberty. They readily admitted that the institution of government was the appointment of Heaven—was the result of the nature and the circumstances of man; they admitted, that obedience to a government calculated to answer the great designs of its institution, was incumbent upon all who sought or who enjoyed its protection; but they made an interesting distinction between government in general, and the corrupt persons or magistrates by whom it might be unhappily administered. "Is the corruption of persons," they indignantly ask, "to be followed, because they are clothed with the name of authority? Not so; the vengeance taken by God himself upon wicked kings shows the contrary." They concluded this part of the letter, by urging those for whom it was more immediately intended, to practise moderation; repeating to them that the authority under which they acted could not justify them in doing what was wrong.

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To those of the nobles, who, although they had united with the regent, were secretly attached to them, the protestants intimated, that unless they now openly testified that attachment, they would be detested as apostates, and would be deprived of all share of the glory which God would give to his church *.

This important memorial, clothed in the boldest style, replete with general truths, to which men, except when sunk in savage ignorance, or in the apathy of long-continued despotism, can never listen with indifference, produced a marked effect upon the sentiments of the public. Many who had before keenly engaged in opposing the Congregation, began to question the justice or the propriety of harassing men, who sought only that freedom of opinion which the most intolerant persecutors arrogantly claim for themselves; and the result of the discussions upon the subject was so much in favour of the protestants, that the clergy conceived it necessary to stop the circulation of the memorial, and to have recourse to every artifice which could stimulate decaying antipathy against those by whom it had been composed †.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 131—133. The address to the nobility is given there at full length, and there is a summary of it in Calderwood's History, p. 8.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 133. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 506. This author, though devoted to the church, admits the fact, that the writings of the reformers made a deep impression in their favour. He says, "hæc cum acta fuerunt, ipsi auctores ad fraudem

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The professors, as the protestants were at that time very commonly denominated, did not tamely contemplate this unfair and ungenerous activity. They sent an admonition to the clergy, whom, with a bitterness, which, though totally inconsistent with the mild spirit of Christianity, the provocation not unnaturally created, they styled the generation of Antichrist, threatening them with the most exemplary punishment, with being treated as murderers, as the enemies of God and of man, if they did not exert themselves rather to diminish than to inflame the enmity which had been avowed towards the Congregation. They concluded with these emphatical words, the full import of which would probably with some consternation be discerned, "take this for advertisement, and be not deceived *."

But whatever impression was made upon her subjects, the resolutions of the regent remained unchanged. She received the letter of the Congregation; but in the temper in which she then was, and surrounded not only by the emissaries of France, but by the dignitaries of the church, who shrunk with horror from any indulgence to their conscientious, or, as they regarded them, deluded and impious countrymen, it did not mitigate her indigna-

ac dolum tanquam a natura facti, literis exquisito quodam artificio suaviter [illegible] multos nobiles jam absentes in sui studium pertrahunt; ac id eo facilius, quod præclaro titulo se ecclesiæ reformatores, omnibus venditarint."

* Knox, p. 134. Keith, B. I. ch. 8.

tion, or incline her to the humane and enlarged policy which she ought to have adopted *.

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Negotiations.

She did not, however, overlook the intrepidity and the determination of her enemies; and before she committed to the hazard of a battle, the stability of her government and the existence of the church, she was anxious to ascertain what could be effectuated by negotiation. She had in her army the Lord James, prior of St Andrews, and the Earl of Argyll, the son of that nobleman whom the primate had in vain attempted to alienate from the protestants. These illustrious persons had uniformly shown much partiality to the Congregation. The prior having been refused the earldom of Murray, which he had solicited from the regent, became disgusted, and inclined to give his countenance to those who embarrassed her government; while Argyll was naturally disposed to favour a cause which his father, towards the conclusion of life, had so zealously supported †. They continued, however, with the regent, probably from the hope of partly influencing her counsels, and counteracting the violence of D'Osell and the prelates. Their general views pointed them out as the most acceptable mes-

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 506.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 497. Vita Mariæ Stuartæ, Georgio Cunæo Scriptore, apud Jebb. Vol. II. p. 17. Innocence de la Reine d'Ecosse, apud Jebb, Vol. I. p. 445. That the prior might have met with this refusal, is not improbable; but it is to be recollected that much allowance must be made with respect to the assertion, that this was the motive of his conduct. The writers quoted were not partial to him.

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May, 24 or 25.

sengers whom she could send to the lords *. She accordingly employed them to open a communication with the forces assembled at Perth; and upon their arrival in the town, they inquired for what purpose the Congregation had collected an army, and whether they meant to keep possession of the place in opposition to the regent. The lords, without hesitation, replied, that they had come together to defend their friends and to save the town; that if the regent would cease from harassing the professors of the true religion, and would suffer the reformation which had been begun at Perth to proceed, they should, in all other things, become obedient to her commands †.

The prior and Argyll, disposed to judge favourably of the protestants, were thoroughly convinced that the regent had mistaken, or had wilfully misrepresented their intentions; and, at the earnest request of the lords, they promised to intercede for them, and to place their conduct in the light in which it ought to be regarded. Before the ambassadors departed, Knox, with his usual energy, beseeched them to inform the regent, that they whom she persecuted were the servants of God, and faith-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 314. Knox, B. ii. p. 135. Calderwood, p. 7. and 8.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 135. Keith, B. i. ch. 8. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 122. This writer represents the negotiation as not commencing till after the junction of Glencairn, which is plainly erroneous, and Bishop Burnet, in his short account of it, has fallen into the same mistake, Vol. II. p. 410.

ful subjects to the authority of the realm; and he repeated what he had often declared—what his penetration enabled him to discern, but what he perhaps was not unwilling to consider as an intimation of the spirit, that she would not ultimately be successful *.

The friendly offices of mediators so powerful did not produce any favourable effect. The regent was exasperated at the obstinacy of the Congregation, and she, in a few days, sent a herald to order all who were not inhabitants to leave Perth, under pain of high treason †. She was soon, however, induced to assume a more moderate tone. The Earl of Glencairn had received the intimation which the lords addressed to their most faithful friends. Removed at a great distance from Perth, and prevented from proceeding by the usual roads, which the regent's army had shut, he was not discouraged. Having collected a force of thirteen hundred infantry and twelve hundred cavalry, he marched night and day through the most rugged passes; and having with much skill avoided the queen's troops, he joined the Congregation ‡.

May 28.

The regent had received notice of his approach before it was known to his own party; and she eagerly pressed for an accommodation, which she

* Knox, as last quoted.

† Knox, p. 196. Calderwood, p. 9. Keith, p. 88.

‡ Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 314. Knox, B. ii. p. 196. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 122. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. Calderwood, p. 9. Burnet, Vol. II. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 157.

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knew would be much more advantageous to her, than any which she could expect after her enemies had received so great a reinforcement. She did not, however, succeed; and she found that she had to contend with seven thousand men, actuated by an enthusiasm, the operation of which might render their attack irresistible. Although, therefore, she had, in addition to her French auxiliaries, an army nearly as numerous as that of the protestants, she felt much reluctance to engage; reluctance which probably was strengthened by her apprehension, that, if she rejected the moderate terms which would still be offered, she might be deserted by the prior and Argyll. These noblemen earnestly beseeched the Congregation to enter into a treaty, and having procured their consent it was agreed, "that both the armies should be disbanded and the town left open to the queen-regent; that none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of the late alteration in religion; that no Frenchman should enter the town, or come within three miles of it; that when the queen retired from it, she should not leave a French garrison; and that all controveries should be reserved till the meeting of parliament*." This treaty was concluded on the twenty-ninth of May, the very day after all agreement appeared hopeless; a sufficient proof of the

Treaty. May 29th.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 314. Knox, B. ii. p. 137. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 122. Calderwood, p. 9. Pitscottie, p. 204. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 410. Collier, Vol. II. p. 456.

important service which Glencairn had, in the estimation of the regent, rendered to his friends.

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But although hostilities, which so lately appeared unavoidable, were thus for a season suspended, the agreement was not universally acceptable to the protestants. Some of them distrusted the queen's sincerity; apprehended that she had been induced to negotiate merely to procure the dispersion of an army which she dreaded; that when this point was gained, and the Congregation weakened, she would without hesitation violate the conditions, and proceed against them with unmitigated severity *. The policy of the lords in entering into the treaty was indeed very doubtful. Their desire of peace was in the highest degree praise-worthy, but they should have most seriously and deliberately considered whether peace was by this measure likely to be secured. Had they followed their own sentiments, they would probably have engaged the army which was opposed to them, acting upon what was abundantly obvious, that although the disbanding of their troops was of much consequence to the regent, they could derive little advantage from the dispersion of hers, because these could be speedily and with ease re-assembled. But they surrendered their own sound opinion to the representations of the prior and Argyll, whom they were most unwilling to offend; and having done so, they determined faithfully to adhere to what had been stipu-

* Knox, p. 137. Calderwood, p. 9.

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lated. Aware, however, of their danger, and of the absolute necessity of watching with unceasing vigilance the measures of their enemies, they, on the last day of May, subscribed, with the concurrence of these noblemen, a new bond, by which it was agreed, "that the Congregation of the west, in conjunction with the Congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Montrose, Angus, and Mearns, would unite to support whatever was calculated to promote the purity of religion; that in case any trouble was intended against the said Congregation, or any part or member thereof, they would all concur, assist and convene for the defence of the same Congregation, or of the person troubled; that they would not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every member thereof, against any power intending the said trouble for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, although coloured with any other outward pretence."—This singular deed was, in consequence of the appointment of the whole Congregation signed by Argyll, James Stewart, Glencairn, Robert Lord Boyd, Ochiltree and Matthew Campbell *. It is impossible to peruse it without discerning, that it indicates a jealousy of the civil power, a distrust and a spirit of opposition totally inconsistent with permanent tranquillity. The combustible materials, far from being annihilated, were more closely pres-

* Knox, p. 188. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. p. 89.

sed together, and the slightest spark was sufficient to occasion a dreadful explosion.

1559. Incautious conduct of the regent.

The regent was now placed in a most delicate and trying situation. She had succeeded in preventing the effusion of blood, but this was only one step, and a very short one, towards the restoration of unanimity and peace. The agitated state of the public mind should have led her to act with caution; and the conduct which it was wise to observe, might have been apparent to an understanding of a much lower order than hers. Supported by the clergy, the Duke of Hamilton, and many of the most powerful of the inferior nobility—possessing solemn assurances from the prior and Argyll, that, if she fulfilled the convention with the reformers, she might depend upon their cordial attachment and assistance, she should, with the most scrupulous exactness, have complied with all which it required; she should even have granted a degree of indulgence beyond that which she had promised. By acting in this manner, although she might not have prevented tumult, or destroyed the tendency to resist her administration, she would have enjoyed the popularity and the respect which unspotted integrity, combined with the most engaging condescension, would have very extensively created; and she would, in all probability soon have been protected by a mass of strength, against which the irresolute endeavours of her enemies, stigmatized as they would have been with the

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guilt of aggression or rebellion, would, at least during her regency, have contended in vain.

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The unhappy consequences to be dreaded from following an opposite course were equally conspicuous. The least reflection might have convinced her that, by despising or violating the treaty, she would afford not only a pretext, but a justification for renouncing allegiance to her; that she would infallibly alienate the prior, whose partiality to the reformation had not escaped her notice, while she would supply the preachers with topics admirably adapted to inflame the people, and to deepen the impressions of that sanctity with which they strove to invest the cause for which they had combined. In the political, however, as in the natural world, there are phenomena for which a rational or a satisfactory explanation must often be sought in vain. The human mind, it is true, is uniformly influenced by motives, but the effect of these motives is so modified by a number of circumstances which elude observation, that speculation upon their effect must often be erroneous. Passion, unaccountable associations, antipathy, caprice—all occasionally guide to actions upon which the agents afterwards reflect with amazement; and this fact so frequently illustrated, so firmly established by experience, exposes the fallacy of that philosophical precision, with which historians often develope or assign causes, which most probably never existed but in their own creative imaginations.

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The regent, with all her penetration—with the many virtues and amiable feelings of which she was undoubtedly possessed, unfortunately chose to do what every principle of honour, of wisdom, of regard to her own happiness and the happiness of the kingdom, distinctly called on her to avoid. She not only seemed careless about preventing resistance, but even determined that they whom she deluded should, with every advantage, resist. Whether she was guided by the suggestions of her own mind, or yielded herself to the blind and impetuous advice of those who, in their eagerness to promote their own interest, looked with indifference upon the sufferings of their country, the consequences were equally deplorable, and the impression against her equally unfavourable.

On the thirtieth of May, soon after the Congregation had withdrawn their forces, she entered Perth *. She was accompanied by the duke, by

* Nothing can be more perplexing than the chronological inaccuracy of the writers who have detailed the history of this period. It appears certain that the treaty was concluded on the 29th of May: it is agreed on all hands, that the Congregation left Perth on the day after, on the 30th, although Knox, with his usual carelessness in this respect, calls it the 29th, and that the queen, in the afternoon of the same day entered the town. All this is sufficiently distinct; but immediately after this we are told, that the new bond of association was dated at Perth the last day of May, and this date is inserted in the deed itself. Knox and Keith leave the reader to explain, as he best can, how men who left Perth on the 30th could subscribe a deed at that place on the 31st. I suppose that a resolution to form the deed was adopted on the 30th, that a commission was then given to the noblemen, who, though attached to the protestants, were, from their

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1559. May. Incident at Perth.

D'Osell, and in immediate and direct infringement of the convention, by a guard of French soldiers. On this occasion an incident took place which shocked all who had not sacrificed humanity to the bitter zeal of party. The Frenchmen, who celebrated, by a discharge of fire-arms, the entrance of the regent, directed their pieces against the house of Patrick Murray, one of the citizens who had been most active in promoting the reformation; alarmed those of his family who had assembled to witness the procession; and actually killed his son, a young man who had attained that period of life, at which his loss most powerfully agonized the feelings of his afflicted parent. The dead body was instantly carried into the view of the queen; and an opportunity was thus afforded to her of expressing her detestation of such an enormity, and of counteracting the effect of it, by sympathizing with the anguish which it had occasioned. With an indifference, however, at all times disgusting, most inconsistent with the gentleness and compassion of the female sex, and with that tenderness to human suffering, which, before these unhappy troubles, she had uniformly manifested, she coolly contemplated

connexion with the court, or in consequence of the treaty to remain with the regent, to subscribe the deed, and that accordingly, in compliance with the wishes of the Congregation, they wrote the bond in name of the whole, and subscribed it on the 31st. Hence the bond is expressed as the act of the whole Congregation would have been, although it was in truth the act of persons deputed and authorized by them.

the melancholy spectacle, insultingly remarking, that the accident was to be lamented only because it had happened to the son instead of the father *. This unguarded display of antipathy too plainly indicated what was to follow. She outraged the feelings and the sentiments of the inhabitants; exercised the utmost severity against all who had embraced, or whom she suspected to be disposed to embrace the protestant faith; while her attendants, in the most open and offensive manner, celebrated the rites which they who witnessed the celebration held in abhorrence. The houses were filled with French soldiers, whose licentiousness and rapacity were rather encouraged than restrained; and the magistrates were divested of their authority, that it might be entrusted to a man who had rendered himself peculiarly odious to the Congregation. The people beheld these unwarrantable proceedings with disgust and indignation. Many of them abandoned their habitations, and, with their families, solicited the hospitality or the protection of those friends who were removed at a distance from such galling oppression †.

1559.

Inhabitants harassed.

When the regent was about to return to Stirling,

* Buch. Lib. xvi. p. 314. Knox, B. ii. p. 139. Spottiswoode, p. 123. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. p. 90.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 314. Knox, B. ii. p. 139. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 123. Calderwood, p. 9. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 304. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. p. 90. The account of these protestant writers is confirmed by the short, and evidently reluctant, testimony of Leslie, Lib. x. p. 606.

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she placed in the town of Perth a garrison in the pay of France, although not actually composed of Frenchmen; and when some of the most prudent and moderate of her counsellors remonstrated against such a breach of her engagements, she did not hesitate to reply that she was not bound to keep faith with heretics, and that at all events, when she complied with the letter of the treaty, in not leaving natives of France, she had prevented any just ground of dissatisfaction and reproach *.

In this choice of a garrison, she was undoubtedly influenced by her great anxiety to secure the complete and permanent possession of Perth, which, from its local situation, from the fortifications by which it was strengthened, and from the hostile disposition of the surrounding country, it was of much importance to her to retain. But she soon found that the violation of the treaty, while it did not accomplish her object, was more fatal to her interest than even the immediate loss of Perth would have been; for she thus lost that confidence of her people, without which no sovereign can be happy: she daily sunk in their estimation; and was, from this period, much more widely regarded with suspicion and abhorrence †.

* Knox, Buchanan, as last quoted. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 410.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 315. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 129. Keith, B. i. ch. 8. This writer does not seem at all pleased with Buchanan's remark upon the regent's conduct, and takes occasion, as he is very fond of doing, of glancing at the Congregation. Note to p. 90.

CHAP. X.

1559. The prior and the Earl of Argyll retire in disgust from court.

The prior and the Earl of Argyll were shocked at the cruelty, and offended at the injustice shewn to those whom they had pledged their honour to protect; and who had, chiefly in consequence of their solicitations, exposed themselves to the tyranny of the regent. Considering all representation as useless, or experiencing the inutility of it, they, in conformity with the pledge given to the Congregation, withdrew to St Andrews, carried with them several noblemen who entertained the same sentiments, and bound themselves anew to promote the designs of the protestants, and to oppose the pernicious policy which the regent had been induced to follow *.

The secession of these men, whose talents and influence she justly dreaded, filled the regent with apprehension or dismay. Hoping, however, by vigorous procedure, to intimidate them, she instantly issued a peremptory requisition that they should return to court. They were not thus to be shaken. They replied, reprobating her conduct, and declaring that they could not, without acting contrary to their consciences, give to her the support, which their continuing with her could not fail, in the estimation of those who had been oppressed, to afford.

* Knox, p. 199. Buchanan, p. 814. mentions, that the prior and Argyll, immediately after the convention at Perth, went to St Andrews, that they might enjoy the relaxation which their late exertions rendered desirable. If this was the case, they were decided in their resolution to abandon the royal cause, not by what they saw, but by the intelligence which they received from Perth.

CHAP. X.

1559. June 1st. Aware that this reply would expose them to her resentment, and regretting that they had been instrumental in wresting from the protestant lords the advantages, which, before the treaty of Perth, these lords possessed, they resolved to make every compensation;—to evince the sincerity of their attachment to the Congregation, and their desire to place it in the formidable attitude which it had so lately assumed. They accordingly requested the most zealous and powerful protestants of the neighbouring counties to meet them at St Andrews, that they might proceed together in the great work of reformation; and to secure compliance with the request, they intimated that the regent, with her French troops, was at Falkland; that she was threatening St Andrews and Cupar; and that unless they speedily assembled to concert measures of defence or of resistance, all the churches in Fife would be overturned *.

Assemble forces.

June 4th.

With the wish which the prior and Argyll certainly entertained for the establishment of the reformed religion, there was mingled the ardent love of national independence. From the confidence which the regent manifestly reposed in the French army, and from the facility with which she resigned herself to French counsels, they apprehended that she was anxious to betray their country; and it

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 315, compared with Knox, p. 140. Spotiswoode, p. 129. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 204. Leslie, p. 507. Keith, p. 90.

cannot admit of a doubt, that, in proceeding with so much violence, she had in view not merely to annihilate the Congregation, and to defend the church, but to realize those preposterous plans respecting Scotland, which had dazzled and misled the family of Guise, and which they had unfortunately induced their own sovereign to approve and to promote.

Cause of the reformation interwoven with that of political freedom.

Even from this early period, then, the interest of the reformation was avowedly interwoven with the preservation or the acquisition of political liberty; and we shall soon percieve the effect of this union in the language of the most eminent of the preachers, and in the tone which they gave to the sentiments of those whom they could influence or direct.

The new advocates for the cause of the Congregation were soon joined by those of its original friends whom they had called to their assistance. Amongst these was Knox, who saw, in this accession to his party, the foundation of future triumph*. During his residence in Fife, he acted a most important part; his manly and impressive eloquence was, upon all interesting occasions, poured forth on the people, and produced consequences, the traces of which can still be distinctly perceived.

Knox.

It has been already mentioned, that, in the first excesses of the multitude at Perth, the leaders and

* Knox, p. 140. Keith, p. 90.

CHAP. X.

1559.

the preachers of the Congregation had no share. These were occasioned by an incident which could not have been foreseen, and were truly the result of an ebullition of popular fury. The deceitful conduct of the regent now produced a change, at least in the professed sentiments of the most exalted of her opponents. They considered themselves as in a state of actual war; they were convinced that the destruction of the church was necessary for accomplishing their designs; and, fully sensible of the importance of preserving the fervour of the people, believing that this fervour would yield to the dictates of prudence or of interest, if not gratified by what was calculated to inflame it, they adopted the resolution of everywhere demolishing the monuments of idolatry. In this they were confirmed, when they reflected upon the power of association, upon the influence of magnificence and splendour in captivating the senses, and, through them, misleading or fettering the understanding; justly dreading, that the decorations of papal worship might again delight the multitude, and usurp over them that dominion which they had long possessed. Knox directed his efforts to accomplish an object which he conceived to be so intimately connected with emancipation from religious and civil despotism. In a sermon which he preached at Crail, a small town on the coast of Fife, not far distant from St Andrews, he recalled to those who heard him what he had said at Perth respecting the

June 9th.

insincerity of the regent, and exhorted them not to be any longer deluded with fair promises, as peace could not be hoped for from those who paid no respect even to covenants which they had solemnly sworn to observe. He concluded by saying, "That as there would be no tranquillity till one of the parties gained a decided superiority, and till strangers (by whom he meant Frenchmen), were sent out of the country, he wished them to prepare themselves either to die like men, or to live victorious *."

Such was the language which he, in common with the other leaders, employed, to give energy and heroism to his followers; and it was not heard without emotion. The religious buildings in Crail and its vicinity were destroyed; and after having given the same direction to the zeal of the inhabitants of Anstruther, another small town on the coast, he proceeded to St Andrews, that, in the very seat of episcopal supremacy, he might stimulate the multitudes who, he knew, would eagerly listen to his discourses †.

The primate having received an intimation of his

* Knox, p. 140, mentions his preaching at Crail, but does not give the substance of his sermon. Spottiswoode and Keith represent him as delivering the sentiments detailed above; and Buchanan mentions, that these sentiments were inculcated by all who took an active part in effectuating the reformation.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 140. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 124. Keith, B. i. ch. viii. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 157. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 204.

CHAP. X.

1559. Destruction of the cathedral of St Andrews.

intentions, trembled for the magnificent cathedral, which the venerable hand of time even then had consecrated; and naturally and most laudably desirous to preserve it, he entered the city with such a force as he trusted would be sufficient for its protection. The lords of the Congregation who were in the town were alarmed by the archbishop's critical arrival. Although many of the heads of the party were assembled, they were not supported by any armed followers; and, dreading that a conflict would, under these circumstances, be attended to them with the most pernicious consequences, they were desirous that no commotion should take place. As the most effectual mode of securing peace, they expressed to Knox their wish that he should not preach, while, at the same time, that they might not appear to dictate to him, they requested his own sentiments with regard to this proposal. Timidity was no weakness of his character; he at once declared that he could not in conscience decline preaching, and that he would preach, whatever might be the result*.

This resolution, which vanity and ambition perhaps, no less than religious principle, led him to form, his friends did not attempt to overturn. He accordingly discharged what he believed to be his duty, and preached with a fervour of emotion, which the recollection of his first call to the mini-

* Knox, B. ii. p. 140. Keith, p. 90, 91.

stry in that city, and of the varied incidents which since that period had chequered his lot, contributed to excite. CHAP. X. 1559. June 11.

He chose, as the subject of his discourse, that part of the evangelical history which records the ejection of the buyers and sellers from the Temple, and represented it as affording a warrant for purifying the church, by casting out of it the pageantry of idolatry. His reasoning and illustrations not only inflamed the multitude, but convinced the magistrates; and all classes of the inhabitants, with the exception of the household and dependents of the archbishop, united in tearing down those buildings, the ruins of which are still so conspicuous and contemplated with admiration and with regret *.

The primate had, with sorrow and apprehension, remarked the tendency of the people to fulfil the intentions of the Congregation. He not unnaturally feared that the fury of exasperated zeal would soon be directed against himself, and probably convinced that any opposition which he could make would be fruitless, he, on the morning of that day upon which the cathedral was laid prostrate, left the city, that he might represent to the regent the urgent necessity of making every exertion to restrain or to terminate the lawless proceedings of her enemies †. The Primate leaves St Andrews. June 11.

* Knox, p. 141. Calderwood, p. 9. Buchanan, p. 315. Spottiswoode, p. 124. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 167. Lindsay, p. 204. Keith, p. 91.

† Knox, p. 141. Buchanan, p. 315. Spottiswoode, p. 123, 124. Keith, p. 91.

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1559.

She had long regarded the archbishop, who had opposed her elevation to the regency, with indifference, or with antipathy; but the junction of their interests, the concern which both had in checking turbulence, which every moment was becoming more formidable, instantly produced a reconciliation; and she listened with attention, mingled with consternation and wrath, to the alarming accounts which he brought.

As the army of the Congregation had not yet been again collected, it appeared to her practicable to seize the two lords who had occasioned or countenanced the [illegible]nt violations of law and order. In hope of a[illegible]ting resistance, she immediately issued a mat[illegible] for collecting her own troops, and couriers wer[illegible]spatched to the steady adherents of the court in [illegible]fe, requesting them to assemble in the vicinity of Cupar.

But the activity of the protestants was not suspended. Entertaining no doubt that the primate would instigate the regent to avenge the injuries of the church, they made arrangements for obtaining the earliest intelligence of her designs; and they soon were informed that she was to gather together forces to overwhelm them. Although their situation was very perilous, they were not intimidated. They addressed the most pressing representations to their friends, and, perceiving the importance of celerity in their movements, they marched to Cupar, although they were attended only by a hundred

June 19th. Troops of the Congregation march to Cupar.

cavalry and the same number of infantry *. They soon, however, had no cause to lament deficiency of strength. So active were their partisans, that before next day they had been joined by three thousand men, many of whom had fortunately, from a general apprehension of danger, come from distant counties. So rapidly indeed did reinforcements enter the camp, that men seemed, as Knox quaintly but strongly expressed it, to be rained down from the clouds †. Lord Ruthven, who had at one time deserted the Congregation, anxious to atone for momentary defection, brought with him such forces as he could assemble; the Earl of Rothes, sheriff of Fife, declared for them; the towns of St Andrews and Dundee sent out the most vigorous of their inhabitants; and Cupar poured forth its population to ward off the enmity, to which, through the zeal which it had so decisively manifested, it was exposed ‡.

The regent's army had, in the meantime, collected at Falkland, and, very early on the morning of the thirteenth, encamped in the neighbourhood of Cupar. The troops of the Congregation, on the same morning, took a station upon a moor to the west of that town; and the command having been entrusted to Halyburton, the chief magistrate of

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 124.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 141.

‡ Knox, p. 141. Spottiswoode, p. 124. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 316.

CHAP. X.

1559. June. Judicious disposition of their army.

Dundee, he lost no time in making the most judicious dispositions. He chose a post from which his ordnance commanded the surrounding country, and where his men could remain without molestation till they closely engaged. A small rivulet separated them from the enemy, and they were so arranged that their number appeared greater than it really was. Lord Ruthven, who commanded the cavalry, led the van, and watched the motions of the royal forces. The other lords, with the troops from Angus, Mearns, Fife, and Lothian, composed the centre; the inhabitants of St Andrews brought up the rear; and the servants and attendants of the camp were drawn up at a considerable distance, presenting the appearance of a body of reserve *. The execution of these plans was facilitated, and the effect of them increased, by the darkness of the morning, the atmosphere being obscured by a thick fog.

The army of the regent, consisting of two thousand Frenchmen, and half the number of native troops, commanded by the Duke of Chatelherault and D'Osell, had left Falkland in the full assurance that they would meet with no opposition; they therefore beheld with the utmost amazement those detachments of the enemy, which, through the fog, they were able to discern. They seem to have attempted to draw their opponents from their

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 315, 316. Knox, B. ii. p. 141. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 124.

favourable position, by twice feigning a retreat: but when this did not succeed, they marched towards them with much impetuosity, still, however, declining to pass the rivulet which run between them. While both parties were making these preparatory steps to a battle, the fog suddenly dispersed. CHAP. X. 1559. June.

The spies, whom the duke and D'Osell had sent out to reconoitre, having now from an eminence surveyed the different bodies of the protestant army, made a formidable report of their numbers; and these generals, convinced that they were inferior to the enemy, felt the utmost aversion to hazard an engagement. They thought it right, however, before coming to any determination, to consult the regent, who was at Falkland. They represented to her the magnitude of the preparations on the part of the Congregation; intimated some distrust of the Scotish part of her own army, who seemed to shrink from shedding the blood of their countrymen; and they gave it, as their decided opinion, that an attempt should be made to negotiate. Although she was much mortified at this intelligence, she authorized the commencement of a treaty; upon which, the readiness of the reformers to accept any terms of accommodation having been already frequently experienced, messengers were dispatched to solicit that an interview might take place for adjusting the differences which unhappily subsisted. The coldness with which these messengers were received, for they were not permitted to enter the camp, in- Royalists wish to negotiate.

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1559. June.

creased the apprehension of the Duke and D'Osell; and they again sent a deputation, earnestly requesting that the protestants would not occasion the shedding of innocent blood. The aversion which they had uniformly felt to unsheath the sword, once more overcame the dictates of the soundest policy. They replied, that their sole object was self-defence; that they sought no man's blood, and had no desire to continue hostilities; that if any method could be devised for securing them and their brethren from the tyranny which had oppressed them, they would lay aside their arms. They then proposed that the regent should send the French forces out of the country, and should give hostages that she would observe all the conditions which might be sanctioned.

To these demands it was answered, that, from the regent's connexion with the French court, she could not dismiss the forces of her ally without giving him intimation; and that it would not be consistent with her dignity to give any other security for the fulfilment of the treaty than her own solemn promise to fulfil it. Although, upon receiving these evasive replies, they should have attacked the queen's army, which they probably would have easily defeated, the lords permitted themselves to be amused with the same general professions of sincerity by which they had been frequently deluded; and, as a permanent peace could not at that moment be concluded, they con-

New Treaty.

sented to a truce for eight days, upon condition that the French troops, with the exception of a small number who had lain for a considerable time in some of the maritime towns of Fife, should be transported into Lothian; and that, before the expiry of the truce, the regent should send to St Andrews persons vested with full powers to sanction a final adjustment *.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 142. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 316. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 124. Calderwood, p. 10. Keith, p. 91, 92, all compared with Leslie, Lib. x. p. 508. The want of chronological precision has rendered all the accounts of what was done by the Congregation and the regent, between Sunday the eleventh of June, the day upon which Knox preached at St Andrews, and Tuesday the thirteenth, upon which the treaty was signed, very confused and obscure. After comparing the different writers and the incidental circumstances connected with the march of the armies, I have concluded, that the troops of the Congregation left St Andrews on Monday the 12th, towards the afternoon; that even while on their march to Cupar, they were joined by some of their friends; and that all their reinforcements had arrived by the morning of Tuesday, before they encamped on the heath at Cupar, of course before they began to make their arrangements for a battle. The queen's army appears to have left Falkland very early on Tuesday morning, and not on Monday, as might be inferred from the manner in which their setting out is narrated by all the historians, and as is positively asserted by Keith. Had they marched on Monday, they must have got the start of the protestant army by a whole day, and would not probably have remained inactive spectators of their increasing force. It is besides highly improbable, that the regent's troops could have been ready to take the field so early, almost before the account of the devastation at St Andrews could have reached the court; and it is evident that both armies came on the ground, near Cupar, within a short time of each other. Keith has allowed himself to be completely bewildered by this confusion of dates, and has actually fallen into an obvious contradiction. He says, on the 12th of the month, before sun-rising,

CHAP. X.

1559. June 13th.

This truce, made at Garly-bank, was subscribed, on the part of the regent, by the duke, and probably by D'Osell, but the second name was so indistinctly written, that it could not be read. Immediately after, the lords, at the duke's request, retired from the field, and having disbanded their army, they went to St Andrews to prepare for the arrival of the commissioners who were to negotiate with them the terms of peace *.

Regent represents to the French Court the state of Scotland.

It has been already mentioned, that the regent was first induced to break with the protestants, by the urgent solicitations, and even threats of the court of France. She was thus led to communicate to that court a very particular account of the state of her daughter's kingdom; and it appears, that although she affected to despise the Congregation, she was, even from the commencement of the struggle, apprehensive of the issue; that she gave a most formidable statement of the difficulties with

the queen's army departed from Falkland, and the Congregation encamped very early on the moor be-west Cupar, that is, in respect of St Andrews, on the other side of Cupar. A little before, however, he had mentioned, that the lords at St Andrews, having got intelligence of the regent's proclamations, resolved to prevent her; and accordingly came to Cupar on Monday night, accompanied only with a hundred horse. Now, Monday was the 12th, so that, according to this historian, the Congregation did not reach Cupar till the evening of that day upon the morning of which they had encamped beyond it. Dr Robertson, Hist. of Scot. Vol. I. p. 181—184, has narrated the events above recorded in a very general manner, and not with his usual correctness.

* Knox, Spottiswoode, and Keith, as last quoted.

which she had to contend; and even intimated a suspicion, that the Lord James intended, under the pretext of making innovations in religion, to usurp the crown; an event which could be prevented only by a large accession of French troops.

Consultations respecting it.

This intelligence gave rise to much diversity of sentiment in France. Some of Henry's counsellors advised him to attempt, by a powerful armament, to conquer Scotland; but the constable, who had opposed the marriage of the dauphin with the Scotish queen, urged the propriety of previously sending some person, in whose report implicit confidence could be placed, to inquire into the general state of the country—to discover how parties stood—and, above all, to acquire information respecting the real intentions of the prior of St Andrews. The king, who had begun to be disgusted with the family of Guise, adopted this cautious and wise advice, and, in consequence of the constable's recommendation, Sir James Melvil was entrusted with the important commission. In the presence of Henry, the constable explained to Melvil the nature and the design of the embassy upon which he was to be dispatched; informed him, that although the king was determined to hazard his crown in defence of his daughter-in-law, if that should be really necessary for asserting her sovereignty in Scotland, yet he was anxious, before involving himself in a war with the ancient allies of his kingdom, to know whether their present disturbances had not originated from

Mission of Sir James Melvil.

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1559.

causes, which, by prudence and moderation, might be removed. Continuing his discourse, the constable frankly mentioned, that he had been told that D'Osell was rash and passionate, little qualified for the situation which he held; and that it had also been reported to the French court, that the queen-regent had not observed the promises which she had made to her disaffected subjects. Having then assured Melvil, that, upon his report, the determination of the king would depend, and enjoined him carefully to conceal that he was authorized by the court, he gave him the following instructions: "Examine with diligence and care, whether the prior intends to usurp the crown of Scotland, or has been induced to take up arms for conscience sake, in defence of his religion, of himself, and of his dependents and associates; ascertain what promises have been broken to him and them, by whom, and at whose instance; discover if they desire that D'Osell should be recalled and another general sent. If you find that religion is really the bond of dissension, we must commit the souls of Scotchmen to God, for we have difficulty enough to rule the consciences of Frenchmen; it is the obedience due to their lawful queen which the king requires. If any promise has been made to them, and not kept, the king or I are not to be blamed. If they desire any other lieutenant in place of D'Osell, the king will send one, who, I hope shall please them*."

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 25, 26, quoted also by Keith, Burnet, and Robertson.

It is impossible to read the whole of this interesting narration, without feelings very different from those which the intrigues and the crooked policy of statesmen usually excite. There is a policy so obviously founded in wisdom, so apparently calculated to answer the great ends which enlightened patriots will ever steadily keep in view, that it cannot be proposed to any man of fair understanding, without being regarded by him with admiration—without producing the conviction, that much of the misery which has embittered the lot of nations might, by adopting it, have been averted. Had the candid, liberal propositions of the constable been submitted to the reformers by the regent—had the principles, upon which these propositions rested, been cordially adopted by her government, the calamities which harassed Scotland would, in all probability, have been avoided, and mankind might even then have seen a practical illustration of what has now become so obvious, that toleration is essential to the tranquillity and happiness of every community. But it was not destined that this embassy should be effectual, and it is therefore vain to speculate upon the effects which might have resulted from it.

Melvil had no sooner received his instructions, and been honoured with the gracious notice and approbation of the French monarch, than he left France, and, having travelled through England, he arrived at Falkland, where the queen-regent was

CHAP. X. 1559.

holding her court, upon the very day on which her army was opposed, in the vicinity of Cupar, to the forces of the Congregation. Her solicitude about the fate of the action, naturally led her to converse with him upon the obstinacy and rebellion of her protestant subjects; and he, in this incidental manner, became more fully possessed of her sentiments with regard to them, than if he had formally endeavoured to discover these sentiments. He now used every method to be introduced to the prior; and having succeeded, he, without reserve, communicated to him the nature of the commission which he had received. The prior repaid this confidence by real or affected candour; explicitly declared what were his intentions, or at least what he wished Melvil to believe was the state of his mind. He mentioned to him the zeal with which he, in common with the rest of the protestants, had supported the regent in her scheme of obtaining for the dauphin the matrimonial crown; the indulgence which previously to the embassy of Bettancourt, she had uniformly shewn to them; and, to put his invariable attachment to his sovereign beyond a doubt—to remove every suspicion of his harbouring designs inconsistent with his allegiance to her, he made the singular proposal of leaving Scotland, upon condition that the protestants should be permitted to enjoy their wonted liberty, and that his revenues should be regularly transmitted to him *.

His conversation with the Prior.

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 27.

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1559.

There is much reason to think that he was sincere; and if he was so, it is apparent that the protestants would, even at this period, have been satisfied with toleration—that their views were not carried so far as to the exclusive establishment of their own system of faith.

Design of the embassy frustrated by the death of the French King.

Melvil was thoroughly convinced that no imputation could be fixed upon the loyalty of the prior; and he hastened to France to communicate to the constable the information which he had been able to acquire. Upon his arrival in that country, he had the mortification to find that a revolution had taken place, which rendered all his labours fruitless, and blasted every hope of restraining the commotions in Scotland. Henry, at the triumphal justings in honour of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, was wounded in the head with the splinter of a spear, and after languishing eight days he died at Paris.

July 8th.

Accession to the crown of Francis, the husband of Mary.

His son Francis the Second, the husband of Mary, succeeded to the throne. One of the first acts of his administration was to dismiss the constable from court, that he might entirely resign himself to the counsels of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain *. The constable, with tears, lamented that the death of the king had prevented the restoration

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 28. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 99, 100. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 411. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 510.

CHAP. X. 1559.

of cordiality between France and Scotland. The influence which had originally occasioned or aggravated the Scotish troubles, was thus indeed called into action with increased energy; and the counsellors of the youthful monarch, taking advantage of the deep interest which he naturally had in the kingdom of his accomplished queen, urged him to raise an army for extinguishing the disaffection which was daily gaining ground, by strengthening the attempts of the regent, and intimidating or punishing the daring enemies of the crown and of the church *.

Hostility of the Regent to the Congregation.

From the measures which were designed to restore harmony to a country torn by religious and political dissensions, we must again turn to contemplate the imprudence and infatuation which gave additional rancour to these dissensions, and destroyed the attachment which had been almost universally entertained for the regent, when she first assumed the reins of government.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 28. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. as last quoted.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

The Lords determine to take Perth....They succeed....Excesses at Scone....Prosecute their success....Get possession of Edinburgh....Unjustifiable conduct there....The Regent takes advantage of this conduct, and issues a wise proclamation....Its effects....The Lords of the Congregation perceive their error....They write to the Regent in exculpation....She acts with consummate policy ....Negotiation....Intemperate demands of the Congregation....Their strength much weakened....Effect produced on them by the intelligence of the death of the French King....Military operations of the Regent....She loses a favourable opportunity of completely subduing the army of the Congregation....She concludes a treaty ....Unfair representations by the Reformers....They retreat to Stirling....Incidents at Edinburgh....New bond framed by the Protestants....Neither party sincere in the desire of peace.

CHAP. XI. 1559.

After the truce concluded in the neighbourhood of Cupar, the prior and the Earl of Argyll returned to St Andrews, in full hope that the regent would, within the stipulated time, send confidential persons to negotiate a peace. But they soon found that she was again to violate her faith; and that she had sanctioned the agreement, which had prevented a battle, chiefly that she might, without mo-

CHAP. XI.

1559.

lestation, transport her French troops to Lothian, and thus more certainly accomplish the schemes which she had devised *.

They were now fully convinced that it would be necessary to have recourse to actual hostilities; and having received many affecting representations of the tyranny which was exercised against the inhabitants of Perth, they resolved again to get possession of that town, and to restore to it the privileges, of which, in direct opposition to the treaty, it had been deprived †. For this purpose they summoned their friends from Fife, Angus, Mearns and Strathearn to assemble; but that nothing might be omitted which tended to prevent the use of violence, they wrote to the regent, requesting that she would remove the garrison, and give to the town its former liberty. In this letter, after vindicating themselves from an accusation of having spoken of her with disrespect—an accusation which, for obvious reasons, was industriously circulated—they reminded her, that at the earnest request of her council, a request supported and enforced by herself, they had, at a most critical period, laboured to procure a suspension of arms, in which they had succeeded only by pledging themselves that the conditions, upon which concord was restored, should be scrupulously fulfilled. They stated that they considered the notorious infraction of these condi-

Lords determine to take Perth.

June 24th.

tions, particularly in so far as related to the town of Perth, as equally dishonourable to them and to the government by which they had been commissioned, and that they were therefore impelled to urge, in the strongest manner, that this ground of complaint should be immediately removed *.

This letter was totally disregarded, and the troops of the Congregation, on the day appointed, appeared before Perth. The lords immediately summoned the town; but the governor and the provost having replied, that as they held it for the queen, they would defend it with their blood, the most vigorous preparations were made for commencing the siege. While these were completing, the Earl of Huntly, accompanied by Lord Erskine and the Justice-Clerk, came to the camp to entreat that the assault might be deferred for a few days. Experience had now taught the Congregation the dangers of delay. Notwithstanding the influence of Huntly, and their reluctance to offend him, they declared that they would not put off the attack for a single hour, and that if the garrison, persisting in keeping the town, slew any of those who wished to assert the liberty of the inhabitants, they should be punished as murderers. Huntly left the camp, indignant at the failure of his attempt, after which the garrison was again required to surrender. No satisfactory answer having been returned, Lord

* Knox, B. ii. p. 143, 144. Buchan. Lib. xvi. p. 310. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 125. Keith, B. i. p. 99.

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Ruthven commenced an attack upon the town from the west, while the troops furnished by Dundee assailed it with their artillery from the east. The garrison, unable to resist the besiegers, and unwilling by unavailing obstinacy to increase the slaughter, offered to surrender if they were not reinforced in twelve hours. No reinforcement having arrived, the Congregation entered Perth, thus obtaining an easy, but most important advantage over their enemies *.

Succeed. June 26th.

Excesses at Scone.

While encamped before the town, they had learned that the bishop of Moray was at the abbey of Scone in the immediate neighbourhood, and the lords had sent to inform him, that they could protect him and the abbey, only upon his promising that he would assist them with his followers. This he consented to do, but as the consent was not intimated to them till they were independent of it, and as this prelate was regarded with peculiar antipathy by the great body of protestants, on account of his activity in bringing Walter Mill to the stake, a number of them, immediately after entering Perth, went to Scone, to express, by acts of violence, the feelings by which they were actuated. The lords were no sooner informed of this, than they dis-

* Knox, B. ii. p. 144, 145. Spottiswoode, p. 125. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 290. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 508. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 316. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 207. He mentions, that many of the regent's party were killed, but this does not appear to have been the case. Keith, p. 92.

patched proper persons to prevent outrage. They probably felt much reverence for that building, in which so many of the kings of Scotland had been invested with the ensigns of royalty, and, at all events, they were most anxious to wipe away the imputation of want of loyalty to their sovereign, by guarding an edifice, the destruction of which might, with so much appearance of reason, be attributed to motives which they disclaimed. Knox followed those who had been first sent to preserve tranquillity; but he had the mortification to find that it was more easy to stir up the multitude, than to restrain them. He failed in his attempt to stay their fury, and the prior and Argyll were compelled to interpose their authority. Some injury had been done to the buildings before they arrived, but the church and the bishop's house were preserved, and as the tumult seemed to have subsided, they returned to Perth.

The licentiousness of the multitude, was, however, soon again manifested. One of their number having been accidentally slain, they declared, that if any attempt was made to check them, they would instantly renounce the cause of the Congregation; and then rushing forth to plunder and to destroy, they consumed by fire the venerable fabric*.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 145, 146. He gives a very particular account of the whole transaction, and it appears from it that he personally exerted himself to prevent the destruction which took place. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 316. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 125. Leslie, Lib. x.

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For this outrage no apology can be offered. The spirit which led to it was inconsistent with all regard to order and subordination, and was not allied to that pious though excessive zeal which had laid prostrate the cathedral and the monasteries of St Andrews. The people were impelled by avarice or by passion; all regard to religion was banished from their minds; and they would have sacrificed even their own friends, had they individually attempted to oppose their unprincipled and lamentable ferocity.

Although the lords of the Congregation and the ministers united in condemning this conduct, they did not with sufficient vigour exert themselves to prevent it; and, after it had taken place, they did not reprobate it with that high tone of indignation which they ought to have assumed. Even from political motives, they should have used force against the perpetrators; and if this did not occur to them, they should have excluded from their society all who had presumed to set at defiance the authority which they were bound to revere. Had they thus acted, they would have given a most striking and salutary proof of moderation; they would have shown the impartial, that nothing but the conviction of necessity induced them to raise the hand of destruction; that wherever they were secure, they

p. 508. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 990. This historian insinuates, that the prior and Argyll countenanced the attack on Scone, at least his narration may be so interpreted; but in this he is certainly mistaken. Keith, B. I. ch. viii. p. 98.

gladly extended to all classes of men, and to every species of property, the most effectual protection.

1559. Prosecute their success.

Perth being now in their possession, the lords of the Congregation determined to prosecute their success; and having learnt that the regent, in order to prevent free communication between the northern and southern parts of Scotland, intended to put a garrison of French troops into Stirling, the prior and the Earl of Argyll, immediately upon their return from Scone, marched from Perth. Having anticipated the regent, they entered Stirling without resistance. In conformity with the policy which they had adopted, they overturned the monasteries in the town, and also laid in ruins the abbey of Cambuskenneth, which was in the neighbourhood. Justly impressed with the great importance of seizing the metropolis, they speedily renewed their march. Having completed the destruction of the sacred buildings at Linlithgow, through which abode of royalty they passed, they got possession of Edinburgh; the chief magistrate, who was in the interest of the queen, having, at their approach, abandoned the city.

Get possession of Edinburgh.

The queen-regent beheld with amazement and with apprehension, the rapidity of their progress. Before they reached Edinburgh, she had called the magistrates into her presence, and had earnestly exhorted them to preserve the capital from the pollution and fury of heresy and sedition; but upon being informed that they despaired of being able to

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accomplish this; that the love of innovation, of plunder, or of liberty, had created the most decided partiality for the reformers, who would be joined by the great body of the citizens; alarmed for her own safety, she hastened to Dunbar, to wait there a more favourable opportunity for asserting her authority, and restraining or reducing to subjection her powerful enemies *.

The impression made by the lords of the Congregation, shows very strikingly that they enjoyed the confidence, and were accompanied by the good wishes, of the people; for they put the regent and her French forces to flight, prevented all opposition, and rendered fruitless the vigilance of the provost of Edinburgh, although they had under their command not more than three hundred men †.

Unjustifiable conduct there.

Their conduct, after they got possession of Edinburgh, too forcibly illustrates a truth established by all history, that success has a direct tendency to corrupt the mind, and even to deprive religious zeal of its power to regulate the actions of those by whom it had been cherished. They there departed from the principles by which they

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 509. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 316. Knox, B. ii. p. 146. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 125, 126. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 290. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 411. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 150. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 207. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 94.

† Spottiswoode, p. 126. Buchanan, although he does not specify the number, says that they were very few, p. 316. Keith, p. 94. Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 187.

had hitherto professed uniformly to be directed. Not satisfied with laying in ruins the magnificent edifices with which the piety of remote times had embellished the capital—not satisfied with delivering to indiscriminate pillage the possessions and the wealth which the monks had accumulated, they burst into the palace of Holyroodhouse, forced their way to the mint, and not only carried off, as their enemies at least declared, the bullion which they found, but seized the very instruments of coinage, and thus directly infringed those prerogatives of the sovereign, which, in all their declarations to the world, they had represented themselves as anxious to guard and to defend *.

Regent takes advantage of it, and issues a wise proclamation.

The regent instantly perceived that enormities so flagrant might be rendered instrumental in weakening or destroying the influence of the Congregation. Convinced that many who, from religious motives, adhered to them, were most loyally attached to their queen, she trusted that these decided acts of rebellion would alienate them from the protestants, and that a fair representation of what had happened might make a deep impression even upon a great part of the community. She, therefore, most wisely lost no time in issuing a proclamation, in which she declared, "That having perceived a seditious tumult to be raised by a part of the lieges, who named themselves the Congre-

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 508, 509, compared with Knox, B. ii. p. 131.

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gation, and who, under pretence of religion, had taken up arms; she had, by the advice of the lords of the privy-council, for satisfying every man's conscience, and pacifying the present troubles, offered to call a parliament in January next, or sooner, if they were pleased, for establishing an universal order in matters of religion, and in the mean time, to suffer every man to live at liberty, serving his conscience without trouble, till farther order was taken." And because much appeared to rest upon the state of the town of Edinburgh, she in like manner had offered to permit "the inhabitants to use what kind of religion they chose during that time, that none might have just cause to say that they were forced to any thing against their minds." Having thus professed her own liberality, she proceeded to contrast with it the conduct of her enemies. "But they of the Congregation, rejecting all reasonable offers, had, by their actions, clearly showed, that it is not religion, or any thing pertaining to it, that they seek, but only the subversion of authority, and the usurpation of the crown." In testimony whereof, they daily brought Englishmen into their houses, who came with messages to them, and returned answers back to England; and of late had violently possessed the palace of Holyroodhouse, and intromitted with the irons of the mint, one of the chief things which concerned the crown. Wherefore she commanded all persons belonging to the said Congregation, the inhabitants of the borough ex-

cepted, to depart forth of the town of Edinburgh, within six hours after the charge, as likewise all who were of their society to forsake them, and live obedient to the authority, except they would be reputed traitors to the crown *."

About the time at which this proclamation was published, rumours were industriously circulated, that the lords of the Congregation had actually conspired to deprive the regent of her authority, and to cut off the Duke of Hamilton and his family from that eventual succession to the crown, which had been secured to them by the estates of the kingdom †.

Effect of it.

The proclamation, conjoined with the insinuations which seemed to confirm it, made upon many a deep impression. Numbers who, in the ardour of religious zeal, had not suspected the possibility of this zeal being employed to veil artifice and ambition, were stumbled at the light in which the excesses of their leaders were placed; suspicion supplanted unbounded confidence; the loyal thought with horror of rebellion; and not a few esteemed it prudent to withdraw from the protestant association, until the real objects of the contending parties should be certainly ascertained ‡.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 147. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 126. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 94, 95. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II p. 457.

† Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 126, compared with Knox, B. ii. p. 149.

‡ Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Keith, B. i. p. 95.

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1559. Lords of the Congregation perceive their error.

The lords were embarrassed by the seasonable and strong appeal which the regent had made to the people. They saw from it that they had acted rashly, if not inconsistently with what they owed to their sovereign; and the consciousness of this increased the emotions of regret and of dread with which they beheld so many of their followers daily deserting them. Seeing the necessity of endeavouring to counteract the proclamation, they addressed a letter to the regent, explaining their conduct, and vindicating themselves from the odious and unpopular charge of enmity to the government. They also published a general manifesto, in which they attempted to construe, in a manner favourable to themselves, those actions which the regent had so strongly, and apparently so justly, reprobated *.

In their letter, which was delivered to the regent by the Lords Ruthven and Ochiltree †, they made this reply to the proclamation: "It is come to our knowledge, that your grace hath set forth, by your letters openly proclaimed, that we, called by the name of the Congregation, under pretence and colour of religion, convene together for no other purpose but to usurp our sovereign's authority, and to invade your person, representing theirs. These things appear to have proceeded of sinister information, made to your grace by our enemies, consider-

* Spottiswoode, B. 3. p. 196. Knox, B. ii. p. 138 and 151. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 141. Keith, B. i. p. 97.

† Keith B. i. ch. ix. p. 95.

ing that we never minded such things, but only our mind and purpose was and is, to promote and set forth the glory of God, maintain and defend the true preachers of his word, and, according to the [illegible], abolish and put away idolatry and false abuses, which may not stand with the said word of God, —beseeching your grace to bear patiently therewith, and interpone your authority to the furtherance of the same, as is the duty of every Christian prince, and good magistrate. As to the obedience of our sovereign's authority, in all civil and political matters, we are and shall be as obedient as any other your grace's subjects within the realm; our convention being for no other purpose than to save our preachers and their auditors from the injury and violence of our enemies, which should be more amply declared by some of us in your grace's presence, if ye were not accompanied with such as have pursued our lives and sought our blood. Thus we pray Almighty God to have your highness in his eternal tuition *." July 2d.

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The lords, in this paper, confine themselves to general professions of loyalty, but they carefully avoid the slightest allusion to their seizure of the instruments of coinage, which the queen-regent had specified as an overt act of rebellion. This omission did not arise from their thinking lightly of the

* Knox, B. ii. p. 148. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 120. Keith, p. 94. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 161. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 457.

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charge. It is apparent from the manner in which Knox speaks of it, and he certainly spake the sense of his party, that they regretted the step which had with such efficacy been turned against them; for although he attempts to defend it, he does not employ the bold confident language, with which, upon other occasions, he vindicates their proceedings. In this case, he apologizes rather than justifies, and his apology is far indeed from being satisfactory. He states that a large coinage of base money having been recently circulated, and every thing, in consequence of the deterioration of the coin, having become enormously high priced, the lords of the Congregation had been advised by the wisest of their friends to detain the instruments belonging to the mint, till this abuse could be remedied *.

How the existence of the abuse, even admitting the fact to have been as he represents it, could justify the Congregation in violently carrying off the instruments of coinage, it is not easy to discover; but this was the only plea which they could urge for saving their reputation as loyal subjects. They accordingly thought it necessary to mould it into a constitutional form; and in a proclamation, which either now or a few days after they addressed to their countrymen, after making the same asseverations of their reverence for the sovereign which they had made in their letter to the regent, they added,

* Knox, B. 1. p. 147.

"As to taking away the coining instruments from the mint, we, being born counsellors of the realm, and sworn to advance the profit thereof, when we understood the subjects to be greatly hurt by the baseness of the money, which increased the dearth of all necessary wares, we could do no less of our duty than stay the coining of more bad money, (in the original, lay money), until the nobility and council had taken deliberation thereon. And whereas it was given out that we had spoiled the mint in great sums; in that point we do remit ourselves to the declaration of Robert Richardson, master of the mint, into whose hands we delivered all the gold and silver, both coined and uncoined, which there was found *."

This might have been a good justification of their conduct, had they previously professed that they were to shake off the yoke of loyalty, and to make laws for the country; but it cannot in the smallest degree exculpate them, when, at the very time of urging it, they were declaring, that in every thing not connected with religion, in all civil and political matters, they were as obedient to the sovereign as any of her subjects. One part of it, however, deserves to be noticed. They solemnly affirm, that they had delivered to the master of the mint, all the treasure which they had found, and appeal to

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 127. Knox, B. ii. p. 151. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 151. Keith, p. 97, and note annexed to that page.

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him for the justness of the statement. This puts it beyond a doubt, that they did not enrich themselves —renders it probable, that even at their first breaking into the mint, they abstained from carrying away the bullion; and their account certainly derives much confirmation from the circumstance, that the regent, in the proclamation in which she charges them with seizing the instruments of coinage, makes no allusion, as she probably would have done, to any interference with the gold and silver which they found *.

To a very important accusation brought against them by the regent, that which charged them with carrying on a secret correspondence with England, they do not reply; and the reason of this will be evident, when their transactions with Elizabeth are particularly detailed.

Regent acts with consummate policy.

The lords of the Congregation having concluded their letter to the regent, with expressing a wish for a conference, she acted in this delicate emergency with the most consummate policy. Sensible of the error which her enemies had committed,—sensible that nothing could be more fatal to them, than to allow that error to exert its full influence,—perceiving that, by consenting to a negotiation at this time, she would present a contrast to the violence by which they had permitted themselves to be impelled, and might even render it necessary for them to

* Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted, compared with Leslie, Lib. x. p. 509.

disperse, she overlooked the ungracious affirmation that she was surrounded by their persecutors, and most readily agreed to grant a safe-conduct to any persons whom they might commission, to arrange with her the best mode of redressing their grievances. The lords, although they could not be blind to some of the consequences of attempting to conclude an agreement, were led to enter cordially into the proposal, from their anxiety completely to exculpate themselves from being hostile to government, and from the hope that they might thus restore to the contest the aspect of a religious war. They therefore sent the lairds of Pittarrow and of Cunningham-head, two men in whom they reposed much confidence, to state anew their demands, and to make to the regent an offer from authority of their eventual submission.

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Negotiation.

These men were instructed to declare to her, that the design of the Congregation was, that they might enjoy liberty of conscience; that unqualified ministers might be removed from all ecclesiastical administration; that Christ Jesus might be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly administered; and that their preachers might be licensed to do their offices without molestation, until such time as, by a general council lawfully convened, or by a a parliament within the realm, the controversies about religion should be decided. They declared, that if these things were granted, they would in all other respects yield the most dutiful obedience; but they

Intemperate demands of the Congregation.

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required, that, as a security for her sincerity, she should send home the French troops, which were a burden to the country, and most fearful to them *.

Nothing could be more offensive to the regent than these demands, and the requisition with which they were concluded. The Congregation broadly insinuated, that they had no reliance upon her integrity, they blamed every part of her conduct, and they insisted upon her consent to measures which would virtually annihilate her own authority, and which plainly implied the destruction of the established religion. It was impossible for a princess of her penetration not to perceive that the spirit which could lead men to require from the crown such concessions, would not be satisfied even although they were granted; that new requests would instantly succeed, and that, in the restlessness of dangerous innovation, they who were discontented would press on to the attainment both of civil and ecclesiastical power.

But although she must have felt much indignation at propositions, in her opinion so unreasonable, and which were made in a manner little calculated to conciliate, she wisely sacrificed her resentment to the policy which it was wisdom to pursue. She listened to the commissioners with much apparent calmness, shewed them the most gracious attention, declared to them, that if she could be assured of their dutiful obedience to her daughter and herself,

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 127. Knox, B. ii. p. 138. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 150. Keith, p. 66.

she would not be averse to grant what they asked; but she desired to speak with some of greater authority, and to concert with them the measures which they wished to be carried into execution *. CHAP. XI. 1559.

Of her sincerity, the deputies who waited upon her entertained no doubt, and they reported to their friends, that they had the best reason to believe that every thing would be granted to them. The lords, that they might show proper respect to the regent's request, dispatched to her the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Ruthven, and Lord Ochiltree, accompanied by the laird of Pittarrow, with the same instructions which they had given to their former commissioners. Upon their arrival, they were immediately admitted to a conference with the regent †. July 12.

She was now convinced of the good effects which would result from persevering in a system of procrastination. She saw the anxiety which prevailed amongst the great body of the Congregation to disperse—the embarrassment into which the dread of this dispersion cast the chief men of the party. To increase these, she affected to be highly displeased with this new embassy; complained that she had not been treated with the deference due to her exalted rank; and required that the prior and Argyll, whom

* Knox, B. ii. p. 138. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 127. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 96.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 148. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 96. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 127. In the archbishop's account, there is some confusion or inaccuracy.

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she considered as the soul of the association, should in person declare to her what were their intentions; alleging, that if they declined to do so, she must suspect that they had some other design than the establishment of a new form of religious worship *. The embassy was dismissed with this intimation, without receiving any specific answer to the proposals which they had again submitted for her approbation.

About this period, the rumours respecting the criminal intentions of the lords, and the daring ambition of the prior, were renewed or industriously disseminated. The minds of men were perplexed, and the zeal of many was weakened or extinguished †.

Still, however, the lords of the Congregation did not despair. When they were informed that the regent demanded a conference with the prior and Argyll, they unanimously refused to permit these

* Knox, B. ii. p. 149. Spottiswoode, p. 127.

† Spottiswoode expressly mentions, that these rumours were dispersed about the time at which the regent issued her proclamation. Keith affirms, that they were circulated while the negotiation mentioned in the text was conducting; but Knox seems to intimate that this was the case. Both accounts probably are true. If they were first brought forward to give efficacy to the proclamation, they would naturally gather strength, and they would be pressed upon the public notice by the courtiers with peculiar zeal, after there was a prospect of disarming the Congregation. It is probable, that the manifesto of the lords was published after the commencement of this negotiation, after the regent had insisted upon the prior and Argyll explaining their intentions.

noblemen to go to court. They apprehended that some attempt would be made to cut them off, or at least to deprive the protestants of their counsel and assistance; an idea which was strengthened by their recollection of a declaration which the regent had made, that if she could divide these two from the rest, she would certainly prevail; and by the rash boastings of some of her adherents, that both of them should before Michaelmas lose their heads *.

But although the lords determined that this interview should not take place, they did not wish to put an end to the negotiation. They accordingly proposed a plan which removed their own fears, and to which, from its appearing advantageous to her, the regent at once consented. It was resolved, that some eminent persons from both sides should meet each other: on the part of the regent, the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, Lord Erskine, Gavin Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning, and the Justice-Clerk were nominated to attend; on that of the protestants, the Earls of Argyll and Glencairn, the prior, the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, and the lairds of Dun and Pittarrow †. These commissioners, with a great number of attendants, met at Preston, in East Lothian. They continued in deliberation for a whole day, but no satisfactory agreement took place. The friends of the regent professed that they were willing to grant liberty in religion;

* Knox, B. ii. p. 149. Spottiswoode, p. 127. Keith, p. 96.

† Knox, Spottiswoode, and Keith, as last quoted.

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but they insisted upon this limitation, that wherever the court happened to be, the protestant ministers should refrain from officiating, and the Romish service alone be used. This wounded the pride, and was totally inconsistent with the principles of the Congregation. The lords considered, that assent to it would be giving at least an indirect sanction to that idolatry of which they had so decisively expressed their detestation, and would undermine the foundation of the ecclesiastical polity which they were desirous to establish. They urged, with much force of argument, that the condition took away every thing which was apparently granted to them; that as the regent, when she thought proper, might come to any part of her dominions, they could have no security, but that, at the most inconvenient time, the celebration of divine worship in the way which they approved, might be suspended *.

Their strength much weakened.

But although the interview was fruitless, the lords of the Congregation were most reluctant to abandon all hope of an amicable adjustment. Their affairs, at that period, had begun visibly to decline. Their finances were exhausted; their adherents were tired with the length of the contest: and from [illegible] causes, they were determined to proceed [illegible] in concession as they could, consistently [illegible] solemn obligations under which they

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 127. Knox, B. ii. p. 150. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 10. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 152. Keith, p. 97.

had come. They therefore requested from the royal commissioners, that some time might be given to them for deliberation, before the proceedings of the assembly were communicated to the regent. After reasoning among themselves, they sent Lord Ruthven and the laird of Pittarrow with their final determination. They were instructed to declare, that as the protestants could not hinder her majesty from using what religion she approved, they could not, consistently with conscience, agree that the ministers of Christ should be silenced upon any occasion, much less that the true service of God should give place to superstition and idolatry; and after making this declaration, to request that the regent would give the Congregation liberty to serve God according to their consciences, and would remove the French soldiers, without which there could be no firm or solid peace. They were also enjoined to assure her, that if her majesty would promise, on the word of a prince, to allow no more foreigners to enter the country, they would not only furnish victuals and ships for the transportation of those who were already there, but would pledge their honour to protect her person from injury; and would bind themselves, in the presence of God and of the whole kingdom, to serve their sovereign her daughter, and herself as regent, with as much fidelity as they had ever served any king of Scotland. The commissioners were to conclude by intimating that the Congregation would cause their preachers

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to specify, in the presence of her majesty, the doctrines which they taught, and to defend these against all who opposed them; and that the whole of the protestants were willing to submit themselves to a lawful parliament, provided that the ecclesiastical state, which was so prejudiced against them, was not permitted to sit in judgment *.

The regent, upon receiving this decision of her enemies, expressed the utmost anxiety for peace, but did not conceal her doubt of its being obtained. Perceiving the prospect daily brightening, she declined giving particular answers to the different points which were submitted to her. She knew that the lords were apprehensive of being deserted, that the discontent in their camp was rapidly increasing, and she flattered herself that the time would soon arrive, when the faction which had been so formidable would be easily crushed †.

The lords, on the other hand, saw the impossibility of keeping their forces assembled. They, therefore, resolved that some of the most considerable noblemen of their party, with their retainers, should keep possession of Edinburgh, and should establish there the free and exclusive exercise of the protestant faith ‡.

* Spottiswoode, Keith, Heylin, and Calderwood, as last quoted. Knox conjoins the reasoning in the conference and the final message to the regent, although the latter was drawn up after the commissioners of both parties had dispersed.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 150.

‡ Knox, as last quoted. Spottiswood, p. 130. Keith, p. 97.

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Effect produced on them by the intelligence of the death of the French king.

At this alarming period, intelligence of the French king's death arrived in Scotland. It might naturally be supposed that this event would have impressed deeply upon the protestants the necessity of union and of vigour; that they would have foreseen that the new monarch, from his tender regard to the feelings and inclinations of his beautiful queen, would warmly espouse the cause of those who defended her authority, and would employ, in assisting them, the immense resources of his wealthy and populous kingdom. Most strangely, however, quite an opposite effect was produced. The Congregation, rejoicing over what they foolishly and superstitiously considered as a signal interposition of providence in their favour, imagined, that with Henry the enmity of France would terminate; or that, amidst the numerous arrangements which a change so sudden and so important would require, little attention would, at least for a considerable time, be directed to a distant country. They accordingly relaxed their exertions, before too feeble; some of their chief men gladly embraced what they thought a favourable opportunity for regulating their private affairs; and the few who remained embodied, lived with as much security as if they had no longer to dread the attack of an enemy. The regent acted much more wisely. Convinced that she would soon receive from her daughter the most decisive support, she still dreaded, that in the interval which might elapse before her son-in-law's

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government was settled, she might be attacked or even driven from Scotland. She therefore took every precaution; employing all methods of becoming acquainted with the dispositions, and ascertaining the force and the preparations, of her adversaries *.

Military operations of the Regent.

Having learnt from those whom she sent to reconnoitre, that the military discipline which had been maintained by the Congregation, was interrupted or destroyed, she, by the advice of her council, left Dunbar on the evening of the twenty third of July, and, with the forces which she had collected, joined to the French troops who had continued with her, she arrived early on the morning of the next day within two miles of Edinburgh †.

Saturday, July 22.

The lords had received no intimation of her intention till the day before it was to be put in execution. Their attempts to assemble their friends could not, in so short a time, be successful, and they would probably have consulted their safety by flight, had not the generous desire of defending their preachers, and those who had embraced the reformed religion, which they had established in the me-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 207. Spottiswoode, p. 128. Knox, B. ii. p. 150. This zealous reformer went into the idea of his party respecting the French king's death, and pointed out the lesson which the regent should have derived from it, but totally overlooked the instruction which it should have given to his own friends.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 510. Knox, B. ii. p. 151. Keith, p. 98.

tropolis, determined them to encounter every danger *. Unable to withstand the royal army, as they believed themselves to be, they resolutely marched out to protect the city, gratified by the zeal with which those of their adherents, whose situation enabled them to be useful, espoused their cause †.

The regent soon got possession of Leith, and having privately received an assurance from the governor of Edinburgh castle, that he would declare for her, there seemed to be nothing which could prevent the annihilation of the protestant forces. Unhappily for her interest, the favourable moment was unaccountably lost. From infatuation, or what, at such a period, was certainly on the part of her supporters a most injudicious and erroneous determination to avoid shedding blood, her counsellors advised her to commence a negotiation. Accordingly, the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Morton proposed to the Congregation the terms upon which an agreement might be framed ‡. The lords, naturally desirous that a treaty should be in har-

She loses a favourable opportunity of subduing the army of the Congregation.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 151. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 126. Keith, p. 98.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 159.

‡ Leslie, and after him Holinshed, attribute the negotiation, at least the agreement, to the Earl of Huntly, who exerted himself with both parties, pressing them to avoid extremities. This may be reconciled with the account in the text, which is supported by Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317. and Spottiswoode, p. 126. The duke and Morton may at one period of the negotiation have interfered, although it was brought to a conclusion by Huntly.

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mony with their own views, were at first reluctant to accede to these terms of the regent; but upon receiving the unexpected intelligence, that if they continued refractory, the castle would fire upon them, they gladly subscribed to what was required from them*. It was at length stipulated, "1. That the Congregation and their adherents, with the exception of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, should depart from the town before ten in the morning of the twenty-fifth of July, and leave the same for the reception of the queen and her army. 2. That the palace of Holyroodhouse should be delivered in

She concludes a treaty. July.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 314. Knox, B. ii. p. 152. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 128. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. ii. p. 291. Calderwood, p. 10. There is as usual some confusion in the dates connected with this treaty. The regent appeared in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh on the 24th July. Spottiswoode says, and Buchanan supports him, that the attempt to agree was on that day unsuccessful. Yet the first article of the treaty requires that the Congregation should remove from Edinburgh before ten in the forenoon of the 25th, the day it would seem upon which the treaty was concluded. To explain this, it is to be observed, that the treaty had been framed by the regent's council upon the 24th, at the Links of Leith; it was at first rejected, but as the Congregation next day acquiesced in it, it was not thought necessary to make any alterations, and the 25th thus remained as the day upon which the Congregation was to leave Edinburgh, although, by explanation, they were permitted to continue till the 26th, upon which day, as we learn from Knox, they actually left it. The resolution on the part of the courtiers to negotiate at all, probably arose from their not wishing the annihilation of the protestants, whose existence some of these courtiers certainly afterwards considered as the best security for the independence of the kingdom. From loyalty they rallied round the throne, but they were anxious to check, not to crush, the reformers.

the same manner that it was received to any person authorized by the regent; and that the instruments of coinage should be restored to Robert Richardson before ten of the next day." (For the fulfilment of this part of the treaty, Lord Ruthven and the laird of Pittarrow were delivered as hostages.) "3. That the lords of the Congregation, and all the members thereof, should remain obedient to the king and queen, and to the regent invested with their authority, observing the laws and customs of the realm in all things, religion excepted, as they were used to do, before the raising of this tumult. 4. That the Congregation should not molest or trouble any churchman, or in any way prevent him from collecting and peaceably enjoying his revenue, and that it should be lawful for all churchmen to dispone and use their benefices and revenues, according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that until the tenth of January next. 5. That the Congregation should use no force or violence in casting down churches and religious edifices, or defacing the ornaments thereof, but the same should be preserved, free of all injury, till the above-mentioned tenth of January. 6. That the town of Edinburgh should use what religion it pleased until the said day; so that every man might have freedom to use his conscience till that time. 7. That the queen shall not employ her authority to molest the preachers of the Congregation, or any other of its members in their bodies, lands, possessions, or

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other goods; and that no temporal or spiritual judges should trouble them on account of religion, or for any action connected with it, till the tenth of January, every man living in the meantime according to his conscience. 8. That no garrison, either of French or native troops, should be planted in Edinburgh; but that it should be lawful for soldiers to enter the town upon business, they returning afterwards to their respective garrisons*."

Such was the treaty; by agreeing to which the lords of the Congregation happily averted the de-

* Knox, B. ii. p. 153. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 128, 129. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 98, 99. Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 457. The articles of the treaty are given differently in some material respects by Leslie, Lib. x. p. 510, 511, and by Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 291, 292, particularly the second article relating to the mint, which refers, as stated by them, to money which the Congregation had abstracted from it or taken by force. There is, however, every reason to believe that Knox and Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317, with the other historians above quoted, are accurate, and it is unquestionable, that this article in Leslie's copy of the treaty is erroneously stated. If the reformers did at first carry from the mint money or bullion, which rests upon Leslie's authority, and which has already been shown to be very improbable, they had restored them before the treaty was concluded; for as was mentioned, they made a solemn appeal to the master of the mint for the verification of what they had said with respect to this subject in their proclamation. It is therefore not unlikely that Leslie, writing from recollection, had accommodated this article to what he believed to have been the injury, for the redress of which it was inserted, and he might have been led into this by the clause relating to Holyroodhouse, which implies restitution of what had been taken from it. The reader may compare the treaty, as published by Knox and Spottiswoode, with the copy of it inserted by Leslie, or he may see the points of difference between them collected in a note to p. 98 of Keith's Hist. of Scotland.

struction which hung over them, and thus prevented the extinction of civil and religious freedom. The more that all the circumstances connected with it are considered, the more must we be astonished that the regent should have been so blinded to what was to her the most obvious good policy, as to grant the terms which it contains. She thus extended her protection to the enemies of the church, and recognized the reformed faith; while she procured from the protestants only a modified toleration for the established religion of the country.

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The reformers, on the other hand, although yielding to necessity, they bound themselves to refrain from violence, and to be dutiful and obedient to the sovereign and her mother, gained, even in this season of their depression, a degree of liberty which, at an earlier period of this momentous contest, they would have considered as an ample compensation or reward for all the trials and hardships to which they had submitted. The terms, in fact, were such as might have been expected, had they possessed a force equal to that which was opposed to them, but preferred negotiation merely to avoid the hazard of an engagement.

Yet it was with much unwillingness that they accepted them. They had suggested conditions which provided every degree of security and protection for themselves, but which laid them under no obligation to respect the claims of the government and the church; and they even complained that these

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1559. Unfair representations of the reformed party.

conditions were altered without their concurrence*. They acted indeed, in regard to the treaty, with a degree of disingenuity, which, had it been practised by the regent, would have been loudly stigmatized as a breach of faith—as affording decisive evidence of the depravity and corruption of her counsels. Before they left Edinburgh, they proclaimed what they styled the chief heads of the appointment concerning the liberty of religion; but far from conveying accurate information to the people, the proclamation announced, not the treaty which had been signed by both parties, and with reference to which the Duke and the Earl of Huntly had, soon after its being concluded, declared to Argyll, Glencairn, and the prior, that if the regent violated the smallest part of it, they would desert her to uphold the Congregation†, but the heads of agreement, which had been at first presented by themselves, and which, after discussion, had been rejected by the queen‡. How different these were from the actual treaty, and of course how unfairly the protestants acted in proclaiming them, will be apparent from comparing the two. The form of the proclamation, as Knox entitles it, was as follows: "For as much as it hath pleased God, that ap-

* Knox, B. ii. p. 189, 189.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 154., Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 126. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 100.

‡ Knox has given a very full account of this transaction, of the speculations and remarks to which it gave rise, and has attempted, I think unsuccessfully, to justify his friends, B. ii. p. 154.

pointment is made between the queen-regent and us, the lords and whole protestants of this realm, we have thought good to signify unto you the chief heads of the same, which be these: 1. That no member of the Congregation shall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or possessions, by the queen or by her authority, for any thing done in this late innovation, until a parliament has decided the points in controversy. 2. That idolatry shall not be erected where it is now suppressed. 3. That the preachers and ministers shall not be troubled in their ministry, where they are already established, or hindered to preach where they shall happen to travel. 4. That no bands of men of war shall be laid in garrison within the town of Edinburgh *." To this they added; "These chief heads of appointment concerning the liberty of religion and the conservation of our brethren, we thought good to notify unto you by this our proclamation, that in case wrong or injury be done by any of the contrary faction, to any member of our body, complaint may be made to us, to whom we promise, as we will answer to God, our faithful support, to the uttermost of our power†."

The whole of this transaction merits the most severe censure. Not only was there a breach of sincerity—not only was the proclamation so framed

* Knox, as last quoted. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 10.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 154.

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as almost necessarily to mislead, but one great design of it seems to have been to encourage turbulence, and to shelter sedition or rebellion. Every individual is erected into a judge upon the fulfilment of the treaty, and is invited, by those very men who had just been promising, as to all civil matters, unqualified obedience to their sovereign, to make his complaint to them, that they might avenge the injury which, in his own estimation, he had sustained.

Such conduct could not fail to call forth the most pointed animadversion. The friends of the regent complained that it evidenced a contempt of her authority; that the proclamation stated more to have been granted to the protestants than was really the case; while it made no allusion to what had been stipulated in favour of the clergy, and of those who professed the established religion *.

To these allegations the reformers replied, that no authority was assailed or despised, merely by their publishing the truth, to prevent any mistakes which ignorance might have occasioned; that what they had proclaimed was in substance the same with the original treaty, which, without any proof, indeed contrary to all proof, they affirmed had been surreptitiously altered by the persons employed by the court to transcribe it; and they endeavoured to vindicate themselves from the charge of disingenu-

* Knox, as last quoted.

ous concealment by this miserable subterfuge, that it was unnecessary for them to mention what concerned their opponents, as they would naturally from other sources seek information *. CHAP. XI. 1559.

How wretchedly does a departure from genuine integrity pervert and lead captive the understanding! Had the framers of this apology calmly reflected, they must have perceived, that what was their reason for passing over one part of the treaty, was just as good a reason for not proclaiming it at all; that if they were really anxious to prevent the effects of ignorance, they should have disclosed the whole truth: because, as the treaty could not be comprehended unless all its provisions were known, and as it was impossible to decide what could be construed as a breach of it, without being acquainted with the privileges which it secured to every description of men, a partial account of it might lead even their own adherents into the most dangerous errors. In a struggle in which the best feelings of our nature were frequently displayed—in a struggle to which we have been so much indebted for the most valuable political and religious blessings—it is painful to notice abberrations so inconsistent with all which is great and good. The truth, however, it would be unfair to disguise; and it may impress upon public and private characters the great danger of being led, even in the best of causes, to commit

* Knox, B. ii. p. 154.

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what it would be shocking to every amiable principle to defend; the necessity of cool and steady reflection—of checking, by a severe examination of motives, that eagerness, which, under the guise of virtue, may corrupt the morals of the individual, and wound the happiness of society.

July 29th. Retreat to Stirling.

After their proclamation had been published, the lords departed to Stirling, accompanied by Knox; Willock having been left in Edinburgh to enforce the new opinions, and to preside in those religious services which the Congregation had introduced *.

The regent seems to have been really desirous to adhere to the conditions of the treaty, and to afford no handle for again charging her with insincerity; but in the inflamed state of men's minds, when the seeds of discord were ready to burst forth, it was almost impossible for her to act in such a manner, as to escape the imputation of intending to betray the protestants †.

Incidents at Edinburgh.

Availing themselves of the liberty which they had obtained, the greater part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh professed and observed the protestant faith: and their minister officiated in the church of St Giles, the principal church of the city. The regent, who had taken up her residence in the palace of Holyroodhouse, very naturally thought that this church should rather be occupied by those of the

* Knox, B. ii. p. 155 and 158. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 129. Keith, [illegible] ch. 18. p. 101.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 129.

established religion, than by a sect which could only claim to be tolerated; but unwilling to take any measures which could be construed as originating from hostile intentions, she instructed the Duke, the Earl of Huntly, and Lord Seaton, to request that the magistrates would appoint another place of worship for the protestants, and appropriate to her the church of St Giles. This request the magistrates positively and haughtily refused. They replied, that, by the treaty, they were entitled to retain whatever they had possessed at the period of its being concluded, and that they would not voluntarily surrender the church. It was then asked that the regent should have access to it for the celebration of mass, either before or after their sermons. This proposal shocked their religious principles. They answered, that they would never consent to it; that if force was employed they must suffer: but that they would consider themselves as justified to have recourse to the next remedy, that was to the sword *.

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Such firm and ungracious resistance to the wishes of the queen-regent, exasperated those who were attached to her government. The French soldiers were in a particular degree irritated by it, and they expressed what they felt, by indecently interrupting the protestant service, probably in the hope that

* Knox, B. ii. p. 159. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 199. Calderwood, p. 10, 11. Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 437, 438. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 152. Keith, p. 101.

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they would thus compel the members of the Congregation to choose a more retired place for their devotion. The reformers, however, suspecting the design, patiently submitted to the outrage; and they soon beheld, with the deepest sorrow, similar insults offered by the same persons in other places, to the professors of the truth *.

New bond framed by the protestants.

But while these circumstances shewed plainly to the protestants that they could place little reliance upon the strict execution of the article securing to them the undisturbed exercise of their religion, they gave, on their part, much more decisive evi-

Aug. 1st.

dence that they had no faith in the treaty—that they had not relinquished their determination to prosecute the war. Almost immediately after their arrival at Stirling, they entered into a new bond, which expressed their suspicion and jealousy of the regent, and their conviction that the most unremitted circumspection was essential to their safety. The bond was in these terms: "We, forseeing the craft and slight of our adversaries, seeking all manner of ways to circumvent us, and to assail every one of us, particularly by fair promises, thereby to separate us from one another, to our utter destruction: faithfully bind ourselves, in the presence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of true religion, that none of us shall, in time coming, go to the

* Knox, B. II. p. 139. Spottiswoode, p. 129. Collier, Vol. II. Keith, p. 161.

queen-dowager, in consequence of any letter or message sent unto us by her, without consent of the rest; and as soon as either message or writing shall come from her to us, we shall immediately intimate the same to each other, so that nothing shall proceed herein but by common consent *." CHAP. XI. 1559.

This bond was subscribed at Stirling on the first of August, only a few days after the conclusion of the treaty, and before any attempt to evade it, or set it aside, had even, by their own confession, been made, either by the regent herself or those of her court. The defiance implied in such an agreement gave additional strength to the unfavourable opinions which had been circulated, respecting the real intentions of the Congregation. It was again confidently affirmed, that they sought only to gratify the ambition of the prior, by raising him to the throne; and the impression which had thus been Aug. 1st.

* Knox, p. 153. Keith, p. 100, 101. Nothing can shew more strikingly the influence of party zeal than a remark made by Knox. After detailing the outrage of the French soldiers, and the oppression of the brethren, which he attributes to a secret design on the part of the regent to break the treaty, he contrasts with this the conduct of the Congregation. "In all this time" he adds, "they were not able to prove that we broke the appointment one jott, except having taken a cap off a proud priest's head." Yet he knew of the bond, which certainly was not the production of loyal subjects, obeying all the laws of the realm, as they had declared in the treaty that they would do; and he might have perceived, that the insult to the priest was exactly the very kind of insult upon which, as received from the regent, he had so amply expatiated.

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made upon many, was deepened, or was more generally extended *.

1559. Neither party sincere in their desire of peace.

From the view which has been taken of the state of parties, it is evident, that there existed in neither a serious conviction that peace would be permanent, or even a desire that it should be so. So much had to be demanded by the one, and conceded by the other, even to render it probable that the sword would be sheathed, that the most superficial observer could not fail to discern the approach of new calamities. The queen-regent and the Congregation, amidst hollow professions, prepared for an arduous conflict. Both adopted every precaution to increase their strength; both sought the assistance of foreign powers, and hastened that decision of the contest, which has been productive of the most interesting and salutary consequences to the inhabitants of Britain.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317. Spottiswoode, Book iii. p. 129.

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

Determination of the French Court respecting Scotland ....Francis and Mary write to the Prior....His answer ....The Regent fortifies Leith....She intimates to her friends the renewal of hostilities....She solicits reinforcements from France....Duke of Chatelherault joins the Congregation....Causes of this....Meeting of the Protestant Lords at Hamilton....Their letter to the Regent; to Lord Erskine, governor of Edinburgh Castle....The Regent in vain endeavours to recal the Duke....Bishop of Amiens, with some doctors of the Sorbonne, attended by La Brosse, with a detachment of French troops, arrive in Scotland....The Congregation refuse to listen to the Bishop and La Brosse as ambassadors....Instruction of the Sorbonne divines ineffectual....Warlike enterprizes....Second admonition of the Lords to the Regent....Remarks upon it....Speculations arising from the Duke's secession from the Regent....His public declaration....The Regent sends a messenger to the Lords with instructions....They hold a council....Propose to suspend the Regent from her authority....Diversity of sentiment upon this point....Opinion of Willock, and observations upon it....Of Knox ....Act of suspension....Intimation of it to the Regent.... Remarks upon this intimation.

THE king of France had no sooner ascended the throne, than he directed his attention to the situation of Scotland, and, instigated by the counsels of

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1559. Determination of the French Court respecting Scotland.

the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain, counsels which could not fail to be grateful to the queen, he determined to use every method which could tend to subdue the refractory and seditious spirit of the nobles, or to give a new direction to the sentiments of the people. This resolution was not merely the result of those feelings with which, as the husband of Mary, he naturally contemplated those who did not submit to the authority of her mother; there were many reasons of state which rendered the adoption of it in a high degree expedient.

Fully aware of the importance of converting Scotland into a military station, from which he could alarm or restrain the English monarch, he gladly embraced the opportunity which the distractions of that country afforded, to increase the strength of the army, which his father had dispatched to it; and he gave orders for collecting a very considerable force, the command of which was to be given to the Marquis D'Elbeuf, an uncle of the queen, and on this account likely to possess more influence than any other general*.

Eager to break the union which had hitherto subsisted amongst the lords of the Congregation, and convinced that this could be done in no way so effectually as by detaching from them the prior of St Andrews, he resolved to correspond with him to

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 510, 511. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 152. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 400.

address to him a letter from himself, while another was written by the queen, whose interference, it was trusted, would powerfully influence his mind. CHAP. XII. 1559.

The cardinal of Lorrain, who attributed to ignorance the diffusion of the new opinions in Scotland, probably suggested another resolution, which was soon adopted. It was judged expedient to send some of the most eminent divines and doctors of the Sorbonne, to dispute with the advocates of the reformation, and to impress upon the people the duty and wisdom of returning to the ancient faith *.

An ambassador was dispatched to the regent, July. with the acceptable intelligence, that the most vigorous preparations for assisting her were making in France, and that part of the levies would soon be landed in Scotland. The same person was employed to deliver the letters to the prior, and to inform him, when he did deliver them, that his master would hazard his crown in his zeal to punish sedition †. The letters were not calculated to stagger the resolution of a vigorous and elevated mind. After calling to the prior's recollection the numberless benefits which he had received, benefits, which he and his friends contended never had been conferred on him, and reproaching him not only with ingratitude, but with breaking the promises of allegiance, which he had often made, he was en- Francis and Mary write to the Prior.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 616. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 318. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 188. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 411.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 157. Keith, p. 161. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 411.

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treated to pursue that line of conduct which his connexion with the royal family naturally pointed out to him; and he was threatened with the most exemplary punishment, if, despising this warning and solicitation, he persisted in cherishing the rebellion, which had disgraced so many of the nobility of Scotland *.

His answer.

After perusing the letters, and considering the communication which the ambassador had verbally made to him, he returned an answer in writing, that there might be no misunderstanding or misrepresentation of his sentiments, and addressed it to the king and queen. In it he declared how much he had been grieved by the charge of ingratitude; insinuated that it had proceeded from false information; and then explicitly stated, that he was not conscious of having done any thing inconsistent with his duty to his sovereign, or his obligation to obey the laws of the kingdom. With respect to the opposition which he had made to the queen-regent in matters of religion, he said, that he had been influenced solely by a regard to divine truth, and to what he believed to be right; that this part of his conduct, he could not change without violating his allegiance to his Redeemer, and could not there-

* Leslie, Lib. x. [illegible], gives copies of these letters, and from him they are inserted in Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 292-294. They may be also seen in Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 130. Knox, B. ii. p. 156, has inserted the Queen's letter, and Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317, shortly mentions the substance of both, making the observation, in the text, upon the benefits said to have been conferred.

fore, as their majesties exhorted him, repent of it; but that, in all other things, he, with the rest who were charged with the crime of sedition, would be most faithful to his sovereign *. This answer was given to the regent, that she might send it to France. Before dispatching it, she perused its contents, and with much indignation asserted, that a letter, so replete with haughtiness and defiance, had never been written by a subject to a king, prince or princess. The prior's friends were of a very different opinion. They extolled this nobleman's moderation, and some of them certainly thought that he might have used language more firm or severe †.

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It being now apparent that the interference of the sovereign would not be effectual in composing

Regent fortifies Leith.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 131. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 459. Knox has given what appears to be the letter itself. It differs in some respects from the summary of the answer, to be found in the writers just quoted, but the import is almost the same. Knox, B. ii. p. 157. Leslie mentions that he was to narrate accurately the answer of the prior, but he does not furnish us with a copy of the letter; and it is probable that his antipathy to the writer had induced him to colour very strongly his representation of what it contained. Hollinshed has copied from him. See also Keith, p. 101, who quotes from Knox, and thus shews that he believed his copy to be correct.

† Buchanan, p. 317. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 513. Knox, p. 161. Spottiswoode, p. 131. Keith, p. 101. This last writer, generally accurate as to dates, has here fallen into an odd mistake. He mentions that the ambassador landed in the beginning of September, and that he delivered the letters to the prior, who answered them from Dunbarton on the 12th of August. It probably was an error of the pen or of the press.

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the troubles which agitated the kingdom, the regent again prepared for asserting her influence by force. Elated with the assurance that fresh troops would speedily arrive from France—emboldened by the actual arrival of the first division of them, which had landed a few days after the ambassador, she began to fortify Leith *. She probably was of opinion, that the conduct of the lords had annulled the treaty so lately sanctioned; for they not only subscribed the bond which has been already mentioned, but appointed a meeting of their friends to be held in the west of Scotland about the end of August, and also fixed upon the tenth of September for a convention at Stirling †.

August.

Aug. 28.

Such assemblies could not, under any regular government, be permitted. Their avowed object was to prevent the oppression of those who attended them, but they implied an assumption of authority which could not be reconciled with the loyalty and submission of faithful subjects. Whatever, then, may be thought of the policy of the regent in having recourse to arms, it seems unquestionable, that the guilt of violating the treaty cannot, with justice, be fixed exclusively upon her. She indeed plainly declared that these conventions were the cause of

She intimates to her friends the renewal of hostilities.

* Buchanan, Knox, Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

† Keith [illegible] they appointed both these meetings before they left Stirling. Knox, on the other hand, seems to say, what certainly appears rather more probable, that the convention at Stirling was instituted till they assembled at Glasgow. The matter is of little moment.

her assembling anew those in whom she confided; for she wrote a letter to the duke, and a circular one to all the nobility who adhered to the court, mentioning the design of the lords, and requesting that, to counteract this, they would prepare to join her standard *. At the same time, she sent the most pressing entreaties to France, that the remainder of the troops might be speedily embarked, expressing her conviction, that, strengthened by them, she would soon restore tranquillity †.

Solicits reinforcements from France.

While these vigorous measures were taken by the regent, the Congregation was strengthened by the accession of the Duke of Chatelherault, and soon after of his eldest son, the Earl of Arran. Although the duke had hitherto joined the royal party, he had no inclination to sacrifice the liberties of his country. He approved the zeal of the lords to prevent the increase or the existence of a French force in Scotland; and with this view probably it was, that, after the conclusion of the treaty, he solicited a conference with the protestant leaders. An event which happened about this period, confirmed his antipathy to France, and soon induced him, with as much steadiness as was consistent with the fickleness of his mind, to promote the success of the Congregation. His son, the Earl of Arran, had, for a considerable time, resided at the French court.

Duke of Chatelherault joins the Congregation. Causes of this.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 160, 161. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 101.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 515. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 208. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 131.

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1559. Inclined to adopt the principles of the reformation, and possessed of that openness and sincerity which intercourse with the world too frequently destroys, he had, in a conversation with the Duke of Guise, plainly stated his sentiments, and defended those by whom such sentiments had been embraced. The cardinal of Lorrain, informed of this circumstance, was eager to procure his condemnation as a heretic, trusting that the sacrifice of a young man, distinguished by his rank, and by his alliance with the queen, would strike terror into all who had a tendency to renounce obedience to the church. Happily for Arran, this intention was imparted to him by some who shrunk with horror from his destruction; and convinced, by recalling what he had said to Guise, that the information was probably well founded, he secretly withdrew from France, and came to Geneva. He there met with Randolph, afterwards much distinguished for diplomatic talents and address, and having returned with him to England, was introduced to Elizabeth. This wise princess applauded his determination to declare against the party directed by a family which he had so much cause to detest, and encouraged him to unite with the Congregation *.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 151. Knox, p. 155. Leslie, p. 417. Keith, p. 109. Letter from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secretary Cecil, dated Paris, 30th June 1559, in Forbes's Transactions of the Reign of Elizabeth, Vol. I. p. 142, 146; also another letter dated 25th August, in Forbes, p. 216, 217.

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Upon his arrival in Scotland, he went to Stirling, where the lords of the Congregation, agreeably to their appointment, had assembled, and declared to them his intention of uniting with them, to defend the religious and civil liberty of the kingdom. He immediately after visited his father, who was then residing at Hamilton, and employed his influence not only to attach him to the cause of national freedom and independence, but to extinguish the enmity which subsisted between the duke and some of the nobles who most strenuously exerted themselves to support the Congregation. He then assembled the protestant lords at Hamilton, that they might deliberate upon the measures which the decided conduct of the queen-regent shewed the necessity of adopting *.

1559. Sept. 10.

Meeting of the protestant lords at Hamilton.

Having received undoubted information that the fortification of Leith had commenced, they agreed to write to the regent, remonstrating against this act of hostility, as a violation of the treaty, and as directly attacking the rights and liberties of the people of Scotland, requesting that she would not persist; but assuring her that if she did, they would make an appeal to their countrymen, and would earnestly endeavour to obtain redress. This letter was dated from Hamilton, and was signed by the

Letter to the regent.

Sept. 22.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 317, 318. Knox, p. 166. Leslie, p. 517, 518. Spottiswoode, p. 131. Arran visited his father before going to Stirling, according to Knox, but not till after, according to Spottiswoode. Keith, p. 102.

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Duke, the Earls of Arran, Glencairn, Monteith, by the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, and several other barons and gentlemen *.

To Lord Erskine.

On the same day they wrote to Lord Erskine, the governor of the castle of Edinburgh. They informed him of the danger which threatened the kingdom from the tyranny of the regent, beseeching him, as he revered the memory of his father, who had been esteemed and honoured by his country, not to contribute to the execution of any designs against the realm, but to be on his guard against the artifices which would be employed to seduce him, and to evince his loyalty and attachment to his native land, by employing, in defence of the lords, and of the great cause in which they were engaged, those means of which, by his important trust, he was possessed. This letter was subscribed by the same noblemen who had written to the regent †.

The Regent in vain endeavours to recal the Duke.

To the imperious letter which the Congregation had addressed to her, the regent did not consider it as consistent with her dignity to send a written

* Knox, B. ii. p. 169, 170. Spottiswoode, p. 111. Keith, 102. Leslie, p. 518. Buchanan, p. 316. Knox dates this letter and the one which follows, upon the 19th of September. Keith, and all the other writers who mention them, date them on the 20th. I have accordingly put that date on the margin, although it is not quite obvious to me that Knox was mistaken. It might have been expected, that had the letter been written on the 20th, some allusion would have been made to the arrival of the Bishop of Amiens and La Brosse, which happened on the 19th.

† Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

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answer; but vexed at the revolt of the duke, and, from her knowledge of his instability, not despairing of again attaching him to her interest, she sent to him Sir Robert Carnegy and David Borthwick, whom she had gained over from the protestants, with instructions to express her grief, that he had not only himself deserted the service of his sovereign, but had permitted his son to join with their enemies; to beseech him to return to the court; and if they should not succeed in this, to entreat that he would not take an active part in favour of the Congregation.

The duke asked the commissioners what were the designs of the regent, both respecting the fortification of Leith, and the dismission of the French forces? and being, in reply to this inquiry, asked to confide in the queen's prudence and discretion, he answered, that he and the rest of the lords would willingly serve her if she would be directed by the counsels of natural Scotchmen; but that, while she surrounded herself with strangers, who were most odious and burdensome to the country, he believed no wise man would advise either him or them to put themselves in her hands *.

For some time after this, proclamations were issued by both parties. Each endeavoured to conciliate the public favour, and to remove the prejudices which their opponents had raised against

* Knox, B. ii. p. 170. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 122.

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them; but at such a period, when the spirit of faction was so powerful; when the minds of men were under the influence of the strongest feelings and motives which impel to decided conduct, the voice of reason, the ingenuity of argument—even the solemnity of appeals to the Deity for the purity of their intentions, made little impression; and all were soon convinced that the sword could alone decide to whom the exercise of the sovereign power was to be entrusted *.

Sept. 19. Bishop of Amiens arrives in Scotland.

About the middle of September, the bishop of Amiens and three doctors of the Sorbonne arrived in Scotland, escorted by La Brosse, a French general, who brought with him two thousand men. The divines declared their readiness to discuss the theological subjects which had given rise to the schism from the church, while the bishop and La Brosse announced that they were entrusted with an embassy, and solicited that a day might be appointed by the lords for delivering to them their credentials, and communicating the instructions which they had received. To this request the lords answered, that they were convinced that the persons who made it had come not as ambassadors, but as enemies; because, as the messengers of peace, it would have been

Congregation refuse to listen to the Bishop and La Brosse as ambassadors.

* These proclamations may be found at full length in the second Book of Knox's History, and the substance of them in Spottiswoode; but although they throw considerable light upon the views of parties, it is not necessary, for illustrating the history of the reformation, to insert them in this work.

unnecessary to bring with them so formidable a force; that if they were resolved to treat with weapons in their hands, the protestants also would so prepare themselves, that they might not be compelled by threats to acquiesce in what they believed to be wrong; that if, notwithstanding unfavourable appearances, the emissaries of the French court were really sincere, they should retrieve the error which they had committed by dismissing foreign soldiers, and thus affording an opportunity of coolly reasoning upon what was most calculated to promote the tranquillity and prosperity of the country *.

Little effect was produced by the zeal and learning of the divines, who had been selected to dissipate the clouds of error which had accumulated over Scotland. It has been indeed asserted by one historian, whose religious principles inclined him to wish the happiest success to their exertions, that, by consecrating it anew, they purified the church of St Giles from the pollution of heretical abomination; that they performed divine worship in a manner the most solemn and impressive; that they led the clergy to the regular performance of their duties, which, it thus appears, from the testimony of one of the most zealous friends of the papal hierarchy, had been

Instruction of the Sorbonne divines ineffectual.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 318. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 134. Throkmorton, in a letter to Elizabeth, dated at Paris, the 14th of August 1559, mentions that La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens were to be dispatched to Scotland; the Bishop, he adds, is going thither, as well commissary from the French king as to remain there legate from the Pope. Forbes, Vol. I. p. 204.

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very much neglected, and that they so powerfully assailed the understandings of the people—so eloquently defended the catholic faith, that many who had been perplexed with doubts, were restored to implicit belief in its doctrines *.

This picture, however, is certainly too favourably drawn. It soon became apparent, from the most unequivocal expression of the sentiments entertained by the greater part of the inhabitants of Scotland—a kind of evidence which the most respectable testimony to the momentary influence of different opinions cannot invalidate, that the reformed religion, far from losing ground, had been, from the period of its introduction, gradually more widely embraced; that it was at this time revered by multitudes, who did not leave their common occupations to engage in the contest by which its final triumph was secured.

The regent made various attempts to divide the lords, to shake the constancy of some, and to gain the support of others; but she had the mortification to discover that they were most firmly united, and determined to promote the great design for which they had associated †. Convinced that intrigue was vain, she rested her hopes upon the vigorous prosecution of war, and, strengthened by the powerful reinforcements which she had already received, she

Warlike enterprises.

* Leslie de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 516, 517.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 171—178, has given a particular account of these attempts.

fondly anticipated the overthrow of a faction by which her authority had been so daringly disputed or opposed. In this state of mind, she paid no attention to the demand of the Congregation to relinquish the scheme of fortifying Leith, but proceeded to render the fortifications complete. 1559.

The lords, on their part, got possession of Broughty castle, a station which secured to them the command of the river Tay, and protected from foreign attack the important towns of Perth and Dundee *. Unintimidated by the formidable additions which had been made to the royal army, they resolved to besiege Leith; and they appointed their whole forces to meet at Stirling, that, in one body, they might Oct. 15th. march to Edinburgh. They entered that city upon the eighteenth of October, the same day on which the regent, accompanied by the archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the bishop of Dunkeld, had, chiefly in consequence of the representations of her French ministers, left the palace of Holyroodhouse, that she might shut herself up in Leith †.

The lords were desirous to make one other effort to gain, without violence, the great objects for which they were contending, and next day they sent to

* Knox, B. ii. p. 126. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 102, 103.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 518. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 133. Knox, p. 180. He says, probably erroneously, that the protestant army entered Edinburgh on the 16th. Calderwood, p. 13. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 153. Keith, p. 103.

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1559. Oct. 19th. Second admonition of the lords.

the regent what they entitled their second admonition. As it lays open the views of the Congregation, and shews that the love of liberty no less powerfully influenced them than zeal for religion, I shall here insert it. "It will please your grace to call to your remembrance, how, at our last convention at Hamilton, we required your highness, in our most humble manner, to desist from fortifying the town of Leith, which appeared to us, and yet does, to be the entry to a conquest and the overthrow of our liberties, and altogether against the laws and customs of the country, seeing it was begun, and yet continues, without the consent and advice of the nobility and council of this realm. Wherefore now, as before, according to our duty to this our commonwealth, we most humbly require your grace to cause your strangers and soldiers whatsoever, to depart from this said town of Leith, and open the same, not only to the inhabitants, but to all Scotchmen, our sovereign lady's lieges; assuring your highness that, if refusing the same, you declare thereby your evil mind towards the commonwealth and liberty of this realm, we will, agreeably to our former intimation, appeal to the whole nobility and commons of this realm. And according to the oath which we have sworn for the maintenance of the commonwealth, in all manner of things to us possible, we will provide remedy therefore, requiring most humbly your grace's answer in haste by the bearer, because in our eyes

the act continually proceeds, declaring a determination of conquest, which is dreaded of all men, and not without cause. And this, after a humble commendation of our service, we pray Almighty God to have your grace in his eternal tuition *."

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This letter plainly shews, that whatever might have been the original views of the Congregation, they were at this time very much actuated by anxiety for the liberty of their country. They plead the cause of the commonwealth, appeal to the nobility and commons, that is, to the whole body of the people, and insinuate that it belonged to that body to decide upon the conduct and fate of their rulers. They consider the increase of the French forces as indicating an intention of conquering Scotland, and they stand forth as the sworn defenders of the independence which they were entitled to enjoy. This was the language of men who had broken the fetters of despotism—who had cast away the tame servility with which the human race has so often and so long submitted to wear these fetters, without reflecting upon the folly or the iniquity of those by whom they had been imposed.

Remarks upon it.

The science of government may from this period be considered as having assumed in Scotland a new form—or rather, the true principles upon which that science rests were discovered. This discovery was the natural effect of the reformation in religion

* Knox, Book ii. p. 181. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 318. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 155.

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which preceded it. It was almost impossible to combat the rigid oppression of spiritual tyranny, without being led to attend to what constituted it tyrannical—without becoming familiar with that right to private judgment which the very gift of reason implies; and implicated as the civil power was with the ecclesiastical, both were perceived to have assumed a jurisdiction incompatible with the salutary purposes for which all government has been or should have been instituted. But although the axioms of just policy would not probably at this period have become known in Scotland, had not religious zeal fortunately conducted to them, they were no sooner clearly announced, than they became independent of ecclesiastical innovations; because they approve themselves to the right reason of every human being, and may thus, wherever corrupt governments do not proscribe them, be the guides even of those who have not emancipated themselves from the influence of superstition.

The manly and determined representation of the lords, at a time when the regent probably expected that they would be sunk in dejection, seems to have involved her and her council in considerable perplexity. She detained the messenger who was the bearer of the letter, certainly with the design of his carrying a reply to it; but after waiting the whole day, he was dismissed with a general declaration that an answer would be sent *.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 181. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 165.

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The defection of the Duke of Chatelherault from the royal cause naturally excited much speculation, and it was widely rumoured, not without the approbation of the regent, that he designed to raise himself or his son to the throne *. The speculation had that degree of probability which inclined many to consider it as founded on truth. The duke had been declared the second person in the kingdom, and, failing Mary, or her descendants, the heir of the crown; and it was hence supposed, that, agreeably to his protestation against conferring the matrimonial crown upon the dauphin, he had become apprehensive, that if the influence of France were fully established, the succession, whatever might be the fate of Mary, would be closed to him.

Speculations arising from the Duke's secession from the regent.

It was, however, of much importance to the lords that all such reports should be discredited. They wished to be regarded, not as impelled by private considerations, but as defending the cause and vindicating the rights of their fellow-subjects. The duke accordingly, on the same day upon which the lords dispatched their remonstrance to the regent, published a deed, vindicating himself from the aspersion which had been cast upon him. In that deed, "he solemnly, and there can be no doubt sincerely, professed that neither he nor his son had ever entertained the idea imputed to them; that moved partly by a regard to religion, partly by his

His public declaration. Oct. 19th.

* Knox, p. 181, compared with the tenor of a proclamation by the regent, inserted in p. 179, 174, of his history.

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anxiety for the happiness and independence of the people of Scotland, he had united himself with the men who laboured to secure them; and he cautioned all against giving credit to what had been circulated, for the very purpose of keeping from them those blessings, in the acquisition of which the whole community was so deeply interested *."

Regent sends a messenger to the Lords with instructions.

On the twenty-first of October, the regent sent Robert Forman, lyon king at arms, with a short letter, and a message to the lords. She acknowledged that she had received the remonstrance which they had addressed to her; "which appeareth to us," she proceeded, "rather to have come from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to those invested with supreme authority." She then referred them to Forman for further information respecting her sentiments and intentions. He stated to the lords, that the regent wondered that any should presume to command her in that kingdom, which needed not to be conquered by force, as it was already conquered by marriage; that Frenchmen could not justly be called strangers, as they were naturalized; and therefore, that she would neither make the town patent, nor send any men away but as she thought expedient. She accused the duke of violating his promise; she made a long protestation of her love for the commonwealth of Scotland; and in the end commanded, under pain

* Knox, B. ii. p. 181, 182. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 155. Keith. B. i. ch. ix. p. 105.

of treason, all who adhered to the duke and the Congregation, to depart from the town of Edinburgh *.

The lords having heard this explicit intimation of the intentions of the regent, detained the messenger till they had prepared an answer; and a council of the leading men of the party was immediately summoned. In this council Lord Ruthven presided. He addressed the assembly, and after expatiating upon the obstinate determination of the queen-regent to adhere to the measures which the Congregation had condemned, he concluded by saying, that it was now time to consider what other method than that of remonstrance should be adopted. It is probable that he and his friends had before resolved upon the bold measure which they were to sanction; but sensible that reverence for the sovereign was far from being extinguished in the breasts of many of their followers, they saw the necessity of proceeding with the utmost caution—of neglecting no means to prevent the operation of the loyal spirit, which could not fail to be shocked with the daring outrage which they were to commit against the regent's authority. Ruthven, after finishing his oration, proposed, as the question upon which they were to de-

Oct. 21st. They hold a council.

Propose to suspend the regent from her authority.

* This is the plain account given by Knox of the message delivered from the regent, and there can be little doubt of his having been accurately acquainted with the truth. The reader may see the message expanded, with much eloquence, by Buchanan in Lib. xvi. p. 318, 319, of his History; and Spottiswoode has taken from this historian the account which he gives, p. 132, 133.

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1559. Oct. 21st.

liberate, "whether she, who had so contemptuously refused the humble requests of the born counsellors of the realm, she also being only a regent, whose pretences threatened to subvert the liberty of the commonwealth, should be permitted so tyrannically to domineer over them *?"

Diversity of sentiment.

This question brought at once before the council the scheme of deposing the regent, or of suspending her authority; and very different sentiments were avowed upon the right, or the expediency of doing so. Some were of opinion, that it would be in the highest degree dangerous and unconstitutional. They contended that there was no precedent which could justify it; that every suspension of a regent in former times had taken place in the name of the sovereign; and that it would be in fact a subversion of the government, if part of the nobility, not only without the queen's concurrence, but in express opposition to what they knew was her inclination, should suspend her representative from the exercise of that authority which she had received from the princess who sat on the throne †.

The defenders of the measure, in reply, rested it upon this ground, that she was only a regent; that her appointment to that high office must be sup-

* Knox, B. p. 183. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 136. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 104. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 411. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 459. Heylin's Hist. of Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 151.

† Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 136. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 104. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 459.

posed to have been intended to promote the good of the nation; and that when she pursued policy evidently prejudicial to it, she might be prohibited from continuing to exert authority, which the queen, as they were bound to believe, would not wish to be abused*.

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As there was little probability that they would be unanimous, the lords who had resolved to proceed against the regent, wished to have their conduct sanctioned by the approbation of the ministers who were most revered by the people, and whose decision would powerfully influence many who could not judge for themselves. Knox and Willock were accordingly asked to deliver their sentiments; a request with which they readily complied, convinced as they were, that the success of the reformation, in which they were so keenly and so laudably interested, was intimately connected with the vigorous efforts which the associated lords would, after this act of suspension, be, as they thought, compelled to make†.

Opinion of Willock.

Willock laid down, with great perspicuity, the general maxims upon which his opinion was founded. He affirmed, that although magistrates were appointed by God, and derived their power from him,

* Spottiswoode, Keith, and Collier, as last quoted.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 183. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 136. Heylin's Hist. of the Prebyterians, B. iv. p. 150. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol II. p. 459.

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yet that power was limited by his holy word; that as subjects were commanded to obey their magistrates, magistrates were enjoined to perform certain duties to their subjects; and that although God had appointed magistrates to be his vicegerents upon earth, he never did establish them so, as that they might not, for just causes, be deposed. After confirming these propositions, by various examples from Scripture, he drew this conclusion with regard to the particular case of the regent, "that since she had violated her duty to the subjects, which duty was impartially to administer justice, to preserve their liberty from the invasion of strangers, and to suffer them to have God's word freely preached among them—since she was herself an obstinate idolater and supporter of superstition, and since she had despised the counsel of the nobility, he saw no reason why the born counsellors, nobility, and barons of the realm, might not deprive her of all authority*."

Observations upon it.

Here the doctrine of resistance is plainly avowed, and as plainly defended; a doctrine theoretically true; resting upon the most obvious dictates of reason; yet the application of which to existing governments, is, at all times, in the highest degree hazardous. No question can be conceived more delicate, than whether, in any particular instance, there subsists that severity of oppression, the removal of

* Knox, B. ii. p. 183. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 186. Keith, B. i. chap. ix. p. 104.

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which can by no evils be too dearly purchased. Were man uniformly guided, as he often flatters himself that he is, by reason and truth, the question might, with the utmost safety, be freely discussed, and the proper answer to it steadily and unceasingly inculcated. But he does not come calmly to the decision; his judgment is in much danger of being biassed by the feelings which imaginary or real despotism had excited, and what still more disqualifies him for such a discussion, his passions, his pride, his self-love, his anxiety to shew his power, are generally called into action. Although, then, in the present state of human nature, almost every attempt to carry the doctrine of resistance into execution, is, as experience has too strongly illustrated, to be avoided—although it should be stated with the utmost caution, yet it ought never to be forgotten that it is true; the knowledge of its truth cannot fail to exert a most salutary influence upon the conduct of rulers, and upon the whole fabric of government; and there are extreme cases, when even the most strenuous advocate of passive obedience must revolt from his principle—there is a degree of tyranny to which the human race ought never to submit. It may, however, certainly be doubted, whether there was any occasion to have recourse to the doctrine in Scotland; and perhaps it is to be regretted, since no change was produced by it in the relative strength of parties, that the reformers took a step dictated by principles so readily abused, and which,

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if not most carefully directed, would spread over society the most deplorable misery.

1559. Oct. 21st. Opinion of Knox.

Knox, although he decidedly approved the general principles of his friend, was more strongly impressed than Willock had been with the dangerous nature of the ground upon which they were treading. His vigorous understanding could not be so far blinded by his zeal as to lead him to pronounce an unrestricted judgment; he therefore added several limitations, which put the question upon rather a safer foundation. He declared, "that the iniquity and disorder of the queen-regent ought in nowise to withdraw their hearts, or the hearts of other subjects, from the obedience due to their sovereign; that if they deposed the regent rather from malice and from envy, than from regard to the commonwealth, and from conviction that her sins were incurable, they would not escape God's just judgment, howsoever she had deserved rejection from honours;" and he required that no such sentence should be pronounced against her, "but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her conversion to the commonwealth, and submission to the nobility, place should be granted to her of redress to the same honours of which for just causes she might be deprived*."

* Knox, B. ii. p. 193. See also, for observations upon these opinions, Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 197. Keith, B. i. ch. ix. p. 106. Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, 2d Part, p. 125. Do. History of Presbyterians, p. 155.

The opinions of these divines had the full effect which the lords who requested them had expected. Every objection was silenced, and when the question was put, all gave their assent that the regent should be suspended *. 1559. Oct. 21st.

The lords immediately framed an act of suspension, which they proclaimed next day at the cross of Edinburgh. In that act, which was subscribed in this general manner, "by us the nobles and commons of the protestants of the church of Scotland," they detailed the reasons of their revolt from the regent. They stated, "that she had pursued the barons and other inhabitants of the kingdom with open hostility, in violation of law, or without any judicial sentence having been pronounced against them; that she had infringed the privileges of boroughs in the election of their magistrates; that, without the advice of the nobility, she had introduced foreign troops; that she had placed garrisons in various towns to harass the inhabitants; that she had coined base money, to the impoverishment of the realm; that she had conferred upon a stranger the distinguished office of keeper of the great seal; that she sent by this man the great seal out of the country, and by his means altered the old laws and customs of the country; for all which reasons they, after in vain attempting every other remedy, had, in name and authority of their sove- Act of suspension, Oct. 22d.

* Knox, p. 164. Spottiswoode, p. 197. Calderwood, p. 12.

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reign lord and lady, suspended the commission granted to her, divesting her of all authority, till next meeting of parliament, held with their consent; and prohibited all officers and others, who had acted under her authority, to exercise their functions *."

Oct. 23d. Intimation of it to the regent.

On the subsequent day they addressed to the regent, and sent to her with her herald, the following intimation of what they had done. "Please your grace, we have received your answer, and heard the credit of lyon king of arms; whereby we gather sufficiently your perseveration in evil mind toward us, the glory of God, our commonwealth, and liberty of our native country, for saving of the which, according to our duties, we have, in our sovereign lord and lady's name, suspended your commission, and all the administration of the policy your grace may pretend thereby; being most assuredly persuaded that your proceedings are directly contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's will, whom we ever esteem to be for the weal and not for the hurt of this our commonwealth. And as your grace will not acknowledge us our sovereign lord and lady's true barons and lieges for your subjects, no more will we acknowledge you for any regent or lawful magistrate unto us, seeing if any autho-

* Knox, B. ii. p. 164—166, has inserted this act at length. See also Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 187. Calderwood, p. 12. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 412. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 134.

rity you have, by reason of our sovereigns' commission granted unto your grace, the same, for most weighty reasons, is worthily suspended by us, by name and authority of our sovereigns, whose council we are, of native birth, in the affairs of this our commonwealth. And for as much as we are determined, with the hazard of our lives, to set that town at liberty wherein you have most wrongfully planted your soldiers and strangers, for the reverence which we owe to your person, as the mother of our sovereign lady, we require your grace to transport your person therefrom, seeing we are constrained, by the necessity of the commonwealth, to force the same by arms, being denied the liberty thereof, by sundry requests made before. Your grace would cause depart with you out of the said town any person having commission of ambassadrie, if any such there be, or of lieutenantship of our sovereigns, together with all Frenchmen, soldiers, being within the same, whose blood we thirst not, because of the old amity and friendship between the realm of France and us, which amity, by the occasion of the marriage of our sovereign lady to the king of that realm, should rather increase than decrease. And this we pray your grace and them both to do, within the space of twenty-four hours, for the reverence which we owe unto your persons. And thus recommending our humble service to your grace, we commit your highness to the eternal pro-

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tection of God. At Edinburgh, the twenty-third of October, by your grace's humble servitors *."

* Knox, B. ii. p. 186, 187. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 319. Keith, p. 105. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 137, 138. Crawford's collection of papers respecting Scotland, from originals in the Cotton library, Vol. I. p. 145. This valuable collection, which is in manuscript, consists of three folio volumes. It is a very scarce book, and I thought myself singularly fortunate in finding a splendid copy of it in the library founded by the late Lord Gardenston in the village of Laurencekirk. In the Cotton Library, Caligula B. x. there is a list of the council which managed the affairs of the Congregation, and of the whole earls and barons from whom the council was elected, which I transcribe from Crawford. "The council, having the authority unto the next parliament, created by common election of the earls, lords, and barons conveened at Edinburgh, of the protestant faction, consisted of the lord duke's grace, and with him the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Glencairn, James of St Andrews, the Lord Ruthven, the master of Maxwell, Tullibardine, the laird of Dun, the laird of Pittarrow, and the provost of Dundee, for the burrows. The names of the whole twenty-nine earls, lords, and barrons, out of which the fore-named ten counsellors were chosen, (the provost of Dundee held the place of counsellor from his office):

My lord Duke;

Earls.	*Lords.*	*Barons.*
Arran,	L. Arbith,	Laird of Tullibardine,
Eglinton,	L. Ruthven,	of Glenorchy,
Argyll,	L. Hume,	of Lundy,
Rothes,	L. Athens,	of ———
Morton,	L. Prior,	of Dun.
Glencairn,	Livingston,	Lauriston.
Marischal,	Mr of Maxwell,	Cunninghame.
Sutherland,	Boyd,	Calder
	Ochiltree,	Pittarrow.

Provosts of Edinburgh, St Andrews, Dundee.

With respect to Lord Athens, Keith has collected the following information. This was Alexander Gordon, son to the Lord Gordon by his lady, a natural daughter of King James IV. He was bred to

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Remarks upon the intimation.

Whatever opinion may be entertained respecting the suspension of the regent, it will be readily admitted that the letter of intimation is most cautiously and most ably written. Far from openly avowing in it their independence of their sovereign, the lords represent themselves as only anticipating what they were convinced she herself would have esteemed necessary. They do not burst forth into that abusive language which some of their adherents had been accustomed to pour out upon the regent, but they express the utmost reverence for her person, and the greatest anxiety that she might not suffer from the measures which they had resolved to pursue. Even when speaking of France, they shew much delicacy. They insist, indeed, upon the removal of the troops belonging to that nation, but they soften this, by dwelling upon the ancient alliance with Scotland, and by representing the union of Francis and Mary as a new ground for that cordiality and that attachment between the two nations which had so long subsisted.

But amidst this moderation in the style and manner of the intimation, there is the utmost decision. No room is left for suspecting that they would re-

the church, and after the death of Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, he was named as his successor to that see. But James Beaton, the abbot of Aberbrothick, having greater interest at Rome, was consecrated archbishop anno 1552. However, the pope bestowed on Gordon the empty title of archbishop of Athens; which title he retained, although he had been made bishop of the Isles the year after.

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linquish the objects which they had pledged themselves to accomplish; they unequivocally declare their resolution to rally round the independence of their country, and to defend that independence even with their lives. May we indulge the hope that this magnanimous spirit of our ancestors will never forsake Britain,—that, living at a period when the danger from France is more awful than in the days of our fathers, we will meet this danger with the resolution that Scotland shall be free,—that no foreign despot shall pollute our land by his unfeeling and unprincipled oppression! The issue of the contest, at the time of which I write, was long doubtful. The cause of liberty, however, at length prevailed, and it will again prevail, if we be true to ourselves,—if instead of fostering the little jealousy of party, and engrossing our attention with the cabals of faction, we impress upon our minds, that we must lose all which renders existence a blessing, if we be not prepared to submit to deprivations, and to encounter hardships, to which, until the dreadful revolution which has convulsed European nations, we might have hoped that we would never, in an enlightened age, and in an advanced state of civilization, again be exposed.

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

Resources of the Congregation not commensurate to the boldness of their proceedings....Lords not disheartened ....History of their correspondence with England.... Papers of Cecil upon the state of Scotland, and upon the consequent policy of England....Lords besiege Leith ....Difficulties....Timidity of the Duke....Firmness of some of the Lords....They cannot raise money in Scotland....Apply again to England....Money sent, and intercepted by the Earl of Bothwell....Congregation defeated....Dismay....Intrepidity of the Prior and the Earl of Arran....Maitland of Lethington joins the Congregation....They retire to Stirling in despondency ....They sink in the public estimation....Eloquence and fortitude of Knox....Effects produced by them....The Lords resolve to state their situation to Elizabeth, and to request powerful assistance....Secret correspondence of Knox with the Governor of Berwick....English Council had resolved to support the Congregation.... Protestants leave Stirling.

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1559. October. The resources of the Congregation not com-

When we turn from the vigorous proceedings of the protestant council, to contemplate the means which, at the time of their resolving upon these proceedings, they possessed for carrying them into execution, we must be struck with the boldness, or even the rashness, which they displayed. The lords

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had indeed a degree of influence over their adherents, which, in modern times is not possessed by the greatest families; but still it was limited. These men, however attached to their chiefs, could not, without much inconvenience, be long absent from their usual occupations; and when they were embodied, they required supplies for themselves, and for those who depended upon them, which the scanty revenues of the nobles of Scotland could not for any considerable time afford. In the commencement of Mary's reign, the poverty of the Scotish barons filled Sadler, the English ambassador, with amazement. He was constantly assailed by the most earnest petitions for pecuniary aid from his master; and when, from the decided part which the government at length took against Henry, he was instructed to leave Edinburgh, and take up his residence with the noblemen attached to England, he replied, that it was impossible, for so mean were their houses, and so confined their accommodation, that none of them could receive him *. Nothing had occurred since that time to increase, in any great degree, the revenues of the nobles; and accordingly they had soon to struggle with the formidable

* Sadler's Letters, passim, and particularly his letter to Lord Suffolk, dated 29th Nov. 1543. p. 416 of the manuscript copy of his letters. The domains of the nobles were, in many cases, very extensive; they could thus support with rude hospitality numbers of their followers, but they had no money; and thus, when absent from their houses, soon felt the want of supplies.

difficulties which arose from their inability to fulfil their engagements to their troops.

As there was thus a radical defect in the very constitution of the protestant forces, there was a defect no less depressing in what was essential for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities. The regent was not only in possession of most of the strong holds in Scotland, but she had also almost the whole heavy artillery, and the instruments requisite for conducting a siege. The Congregation, however eager to signalize their valour, thus found an invincible obstacle to their immediate success in the situation of the town of Leith, from which they had warned the mother of their sovereign to depart *.

Not disheartened.

Yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, the effect of which was increased by the constant apprehension or suspicion of being betrayed by some who affected to espouse their cause †, the associated Lords proceeded with the energy which they had of late so strikingly displayed; and they had no sooner suspended the authority with which the regent had been invested, than they required all French and Scotch forces to march out of Leith, and leave that town as in a period of peace ‡.

Oct. 25.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 818. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 518.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 188. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 138.

‡ Knox, B. ii. p. 187, has inserted the summons, which reflects much credit upon the temper and good sense of those who composed

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This summons was treated by the royal party with the contempt which it was not unnatural for them to feel, and some skirmishing, but with little loss on either side, soon took place †. Before, however, detailing the more important military events which succeeded, and delineating the aspect which the contest assumed, it is necessary to bring into view what powerfully influenced both,—to trace that connection with England, which was early formed by the Congregation,—which became every day closer,—and the prospect of which, or the conviction that the most beneficial consequences would result from it, had a great effect in producing that resolute firmness with which the lords had acted.

History of their correspondence with England.

In several of the proclamations which the regent addressed to her subjects, she had positively affirmed that a secret and traitorous correspondence with England had been carried on by her enemies; and it has been already observed, that to this charge no answer was given. The fact could not be denied; and the Congregation were, for many reasons, reluctant to bring it into view, or to attempt any defence. They continued, however, to negotiate; and the alliance which, in consequence, was ultimately framed, will be best explained by unfolding the policy which inclined Elizabeth to support

† Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 188. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 319. Calderwood, p. 12. Keith B. i. ch. x. p. 108.

‡ Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

them, and by examining the communications made to her ministers, or the motives by which they were actuated. CHAP. XIII. 1559.

Although Elizabeth had, upon the death of her sister, been called, by the unanimous voices of both houses of parliament, to ascend the throne, her situation was far from being secure. The tyrannical measures of her father had produced a very general apparent compliance with his religious sentiments, and the mild administration of her brother had really attached numbers to the reformation; but under the reign of Mary, it became evident that multitudes were devoted to the ancient faith, and had rejoiced in an opportunity of safely reuniting themselves to the catholic church.

In the estimation of this great part of her subjects, Elizabeth's title to the throne was radically defective. Maintaining, as they did, that the divorce of Henry from Catharine, his first wife, was, from its not being sanctioned by the Pope, totally invalid, they regarded all his children by his subsequent marriages as illegitimate, and as, of course, constitutionally excluded from the succession. Upon this supposition, the queen of Scotland was the lineal and nearest heir to the English monarchy. Her right accordingly was acknowledged by some of the most considerable of the nobility, and she soon shewed that she had no aversion to bring forward her claims to this powerful kingdom. Immediately after the peace of Cambray, she assumed, by the

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advice of her father-in-law the king of France, the title and the arms of queen of England; and her uncles did not scruple to declare, that she ought, in justice, to wear the crown which she so clearly inherited. Elizabeth remonstrated against this conduct, so inconsistent with that spirit of peace which had been so lately avowed; but when her ambassadors expostulated, they received only general and evasive answers. Although every intention of interfering with her possession of the crown was disclaimed, yet the anxiety and diligence with which the French court increased their armies in Scotland, naturally excited or increased the suspicion that Mary's right would be prosecuted; and that, when a proper season arrived, England would be attacked from the native dominions of that princess. It was of infinite importance to Elizabeth to prevent such an attack, and, if possible, to render it impracticable: and hence the most obvious policy, independently of her attachment to the protestant religion, pointed out to her the wisdom of invigorating the efforts of men, who were, from principle, engaged in war with the government of Scotland, and with the mercenary troops, which, at a subsequent period, might be employed to assail her own throne *.

* Camden's Annals of English and Irish affairs during the reign of Elizabeth: London edition of 1615, p. 41-43. Stowe's Annals, p. 640, 641. Strype's Annals, second edition, Introduction, Vol. I. 89. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 10—16. Rapin's Hist. of England, folio edition, Vol. II. p. 59. Memoires de Michel de Castelnau, apud

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Soon after his arrival in Scotland, Knox, whose comprehensive mind at once discerned the tie which should bind Elizabeth and the lords of the Congregation in strict union, advised that a negotiation with England should be commenced. After the convention in the neighbourhood of Cupar, and while he was residing in St Andrews, being engaged with Kircaldy of Grange in earnest conversation upon the situation of the protestants, both were for a moment appalled as they contemplated the difficulty of their enterprize, and their inability to persevere if the contest should be protracted. Knox at length said, if England would discern its own interest, and would attend to the danger which also threatens her, she would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel, for France has resolved upon the conquest of England as well as of Scotland *. 1559.

This opened a new and a brighter prospect. After they had maturely considered the subject, they determined to act upon the suggestion which had been started. Grange wrote to Sir Harry Percy, afterwards Earl of Northumberland; and in an interview which followed, he stated the matter so forcibly, that Percy conceived it to be his duty to submit the proposals of the Congregation to Cecil, July.

Jebb. Vol. II. p. 446. Maria Stuarta Innocens, &c. apud Jebb, Vol. I. p. 886, 887.

* Knox's History, B. iii. p. 207, where there is a very full and interesting account of the first correspondence with England.

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the enlightened and able secretary of Elizabeth. This profound statesman, aware of what might be the result of the application which had been made to Percy, laid his communication before the council; and he soon returned an answer approving, in general terms, of the intentions of the lords, but requesting more minute information to enable him to determine in what manner it would be prudent to act. In consequence of this, the lords addressed to him a memorial, in which they solemnly declared that their only purpose was to advance the glory of Jesus Christ, and the true preaching of his gospel in Scotland; to remove superstition and idolatry; to restrain the fury of those who had cruelly shed the blood of their brethren; and to the uttermost to maintain the liberty of their country from the tyranny and dominion of strangers. They expressed their hope that they would be enabled to accomplish these praiseworthy ends; and they assured Cecil that they would cordially exert themselves to preserve lasting peace between the two nations of Britain. With this public dispatch, Knox wrote both to the secretary, with whom he had formerly corresponded, and to Elizabeth herself *.

July 17th.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 207—212. Mackenzie's Life of Knox in Vol. 3d of his Lives, p. 112. In Knox's History, his letter to the queen is dated the 28th of July. This probably is a mistake of the press, as it is mentioned that this letter was sent off with the memorial of the lords, which was dated the 17th of July. The date of the queen's letter we may suppose to have been the 18th; the chief object of it was to obtain permission to visit the north of England. Now, this permission had

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The memorial so far removed the doubts which had been entertained of the intentions or the steadiness of the Congregation, as to convince the English council that it was proper to be more explicit. Indeed Cecil had previously intimated, that he wished to have a personal interview with Knox at Stamford, the object of which was to procure information, and to encourage the lords; but the regent's success, after leaving Dunbar, detained the reformer in Scotland. As soon, however, as he could safely leave the kingdom, he went to England; and when he was at Berwick, where, by the advice of Sir James Crofts, the governor, he privately remained for a few days, he received a letter, in which Cecil expressed his surprise that the interview had not taken place; and without explaining himself, merely hinted his desire to converse with Knox, or some such person, duly authorized, upon the important topics which were in agitation. The sanguine hopes of the lords were much depressed by this cold and general reply. Several of them were so much convinced that no assistance would be given to them, as to propose that no more applications should be made to the English council. Knox, with great judgment, combated

Dat. July 28th.

been granted before the 28th, for on that day Cecil wrote, expressing his inability to explain why an interview between him and Knox, which had been proposed, had not taken place. Without attending to this correction of the date, the reader will find the narration in Knox, and other writers, quite unintelligible.

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this rash and desponding proposition; and having obtained permission to reply to Cecil, he placed the importance and necessity of aid from England in so striking a light, that an immediate intimation was made to the lords, that they would receive from the governor of Berwick a supply of money; and that if they adhered to the professions which they had made, and entered into an alliance with England, they should want neither men nor money for the accomplishment of their just designs. Upon getting this most acceptable and seasonable intelligence, they sent one of their confidential agents to Berwick and got a supply, which enabled them to answer the demands by which they had been closely pressed *.

It might have been concluded, even from what has been already stated, that the ministers of Elizabeth very early were convinced that it was expedient to assist the reformers in Scotland; but this has been placed beyond all doubt by various papers which have been discovered. In the Cotton Library there are two papers upon the affairs of Scotland, written by Cecil himself, which shew that he had

Papers of Cecil.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 214. It is evident from the narration of Knox that this payment of money was different from the one to Cockburn, which will soon be mentioned, and that it was made in consequence of orders from England. Yet most of the writers, Spottiswoode, Keith, &c. have not adverted to this, and have taken no notice of the transaction recorded in the text. The part which Knox took in the first correspondence with England probably saved the Congregation from destruction.

bestowed upon this subject much attention, and had weighed, with the utmost deliberation, both sides of the question. The first is entitled, "A memorial of certain points meet for the restoring the realm of Scotland to the ancient weale." This memorial might have been drawn up either for the information of the council, or to be communicated to the Congregation as the platform, agreeably to which the English government was inclined to assist them. It is written with great ability, displays profound political knowledge, and is full of the justest sentiments respecting the real interest of Scotland. Having laid down the principle that the greatest felicity which Scotland could enjoy, would be the consequence either of maintaining perpetual peace with England, or of both kingdoms being united; as has since happily taken place, the secretary considers in what way such a peace as he had mentioned might be established. He assumes, as essential to it, that Scotland should be completely independent of France, the ancient enemy of England; which it was not at the period when he wrote, and which could not be expected till a native of Scotland, residing in the country, swayed the sceptre. He then states the policy which, in his estimation, should be pursued while the marriage of the French king and Mary continued, or while she remained in France; advising that the next heirs to the throne being in the country should watch over the interest of the crown, while the nobility and gentry

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guarded the ancient rights and liberties of the people. He recommends to these two classes, in conjunction with the next heir to the crown, to seek reformation of such great abuses as threatened to reduce them to slavery, and to make their demands before the French force had received any considerable accession. He details the provision which should be made for liberty of religion and freedom from idolatry, for the proper regulation of the government, for preserving it from the direction of France, and for investing the three estates with power to superintend the expenditure of the royal revenue. The conclusion of the paper is very remarkable, proceeding upon doctrines which evince the enlargement of Cecil's mind, and the just sentiments of liberty which he entertained. "In these and such like points, if the French king and queen be found unwilling, and will withstand this provision for the weale of the land, then have the three estates of the realm authority forthwith to intimate to the said king and queen their humble requests; and if the same be not effectually granted, then humbly may they commit the governance thereof to the next heir of the crown, binding the same also to observe the laws and the ancient rights of the realm. Finally, if the queen shall be unwilling to this, as it is likely she will, in respect of the greedy and tyrannous affliction of the French, then it is apparent that Almighty God is pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom for the weale of it; and in this time,

great circumspection is to be used to avoid the deceits and trumperies of the French. And then may the realm of Scotland consider, being once made free, what means may be devised, through God's goodness, to accord the two realms to endure for time to come, at the pleasure of Almighty God, in whose hands the hearts of all princes are*."

However much the opinion thus delivered by Cecil corresponds with sound reason—with the nature and design of all good government, it could not have been expected to be so forcibly urged and so unambiguously applied by a courtier of the age in which he lived, and by the confidential minister of a sovereign, who, although she exalted the glory of her kingdom, and has upon this account been long contemplated with enthusiastical admiration, was certainly in a high degree jealous of her prerogative, and most careful to prevent the representatives of her subjects from using any language, or indulging in any political speculations which tended, in the slightest manner, to reduce to practice within her own dominions, what her secretary so earnestly enforced in the case of Scotland.

The lords of the Congregation, and the preachers who supported their cause, have often been brand-

* Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 135—138, copied from an original in Cecil's own hand, deposited in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. I have inserted great part of this paper in Appendix No. IV. as it throws much light upon the views and sentiments of the Congregation.

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ed as seditious demagogues, merely from inculcating the political tenets which Cecil has interwoven in his memorial. The circumstance of these tenets being espoused by one of the ablest public characters who distinguished the reign of Elizabeth, may perhaps remove the prejudices, with which, when considered as the doctrines of Knox and his adherents, they have been often regarded; and a dispassionate examination of them can hardly fail to shew, that, by maintaining them, the Scotish reformers promoted the advancement of liberty, and laid or strengthened the foundation of our present admirable constitution; a constitution not free indeed from defects, which every good patriot wishes to be removed—but even with these, the wonder, the envy, and the glory of the civilized world.

Cecil having discussed what was requisite for the happiness of Scotland, and pointed out the course which the lords of the Congregation should follow to secure it, proceeded to the investigation of another most interesting point. The lords had applied for the assistance of England, and it became prudent maturely to weigh whether it was for the honour and advantage of that kingdom to grant the request. Upon this subject he entered, probably immediately after he had written the paper which has been mentioned, and he digested his thoughts in what he styled a short discussion of the weighty matters of Scotland. He begins by proposing the question, whether it be meet that Eng-

land should help the nobility and protestants of Scotland to expel the French or no?—and he states what might be said on both sides. The reasons which might be urged for refusing assistance he examines very concisely, but he illustrates and discusses at great length the arguments and considerations in favour of the Congregation. He deduces from the whole the conclusion, that it would not only be wise in England to grant the assistance required, but that her own safety was implicated in her doing so, and that this assistance should be immediately and effectually given *.

It is not a little remarkable, that amongst the reasons against Elizabeth's interfering in the affairs of Scotland, and supporting the lords of the Congregation, there is not the most distant allusion to the treaties which subsisted between the two countries. At the same time that peace was concluded at Cambray between England and France, Elizabeth entered into a treaty with the Scotish sovereigns,

* Crawford, Vol. I. p. 138—144, from Cotton Library. Cal. B. x. This paper has been frequently printed, but I have thought it necessary to give some extracts from it in the Appendix, No. V. as it explains, in the most satisfactory manner, the nature of the connection into which the Scotish reformers entered with England, and lays open the ground upon which Elizabeth acted in extending to them her support. It must strike every person who reads it, as affording a strong proof of the political sagacity of Knox, and shews that his vigorous mind would have qualified him for acting in the administration of state affairs a part no less important and decisive than that which he acted in the regulation of the church.

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by the first article of which, the contracting parties bound themselves not to harbour such as were rebels to each other. The design of this clause must have been to discountenance or prevent rebellion, and of course it prohibited the conduct which Cecil advised the queen of England to adopt; for if neither of the princes were to harbour rebels, they were certainly under an equal or a stronger obligation not to do what was much more hurtful to the neighbouring power, to increase the resources and the strength of subjects actually fighting against the established government. By another article of the treaty, it was agreed to send plenipotentiaries to a place to be chosen, within the space of two months, for the purpose of adjusting many points which could not be arranged at Cambray. This was accordingly done; and a supplemental treaty having been formed at Upsalington, on the last of May, it was ratified by Francis and Mary in the very month in which Cecil wrote the memorials respecting Scotland. This striking circumstance did not escape the observation of Sir Robert Cotton, who, at the beginning of the last paper quoted from his collection, remarks, "that notwithstanding that this month of August, the treaty of Upsalington, between the queen of England, and Mary and Francis of Scotland was made and confirmed, yet did she, as appears by this consultation in the hand of Sir William Cecil, her secretary, continue her purpose

of aid and support to the faction in Scotland by Murray *."

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That Cecil was ignorant of these treaties, cannot be imagined; that he did not see that their existence should have restrained his queen from taking part with the Scotish lords, is impossible. The treaties were in full force; none of the articles had been violated, at least no complaint had been made of the violation. Elizabeth and her council were no doubt apprehensive of danger, and perhaps were right in being so; but the silence which Cecil has observed upon the subject of the treaties cannot be justified—must be attributed to that loose political morality, unhappily too generally sanctioned by the practice of all governments, which considers obligation as commensurate with advantage—which despises the most solemn pactions, if it be for its interest to despise them. It is true, indeed, that Francis and Mary had assumed the arms of England after the formation of the treaty, and before it was ratified; but although much communication upon this insult to Elizabeth took place between that queen's minister in France, and the ministers of the French court, no declaration of hostility had been founded upon it, and it was not openly avowed as the cause of the insidious policy which Eng-

* Sir Robert is mistaken in saying that the treaty was made in the month of August; it had been entered into in May, and was ratified in August. See Crawford's Collection of State Papers, Vol. I. p. 144. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XV. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 407.

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land now adopted. It in fact was not the cause of that policy; for the idea of aiding the lords of the Congregation, at any rate of increasing the disturbances in Scotland, and thus affording, within that country, sufficient occupation to the French troops who were stationed in it, had suggested itself to the English council, not only long before the ratification of the treaty of Upsalington, but even before its existence—even before any application had been made by the protestants in Scotland for the interference of Elizabeth. In a letter from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, the English ambassador in Paris, dated from that city on the seventh of June, and addressed to Cecil, he states to the secretary this information: "There is lately come hither a rumour of the queen-dowager of Scotland's death, but they of this court do not seem to give any credit thereunto. I doubt not but you do consider how much it standeth the queen's majesty to nourish and entertain the garboile in Scotland as much as may be*."

* Forbes's full view of the public transactions in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 118. Throkmorton took every opportunity of enforcing the advice which he gave to Cecil. In the same letter in which he gives it, speaking of Knox, he says, "Though Knox the preacher did heretofore unadvisedly and fondly put his hand to the book (the book respecting the right of women to succeed to a throne), yet for as much as he is now in Scotland, in as great credit as ever man was there, with such as may be able to serve the queen-majesty's turn, it were well done not to use him otherwise in mine opinion than may be for the advancement of the queen-majesty's service." In a letter, which he wrote a few days after to the queen herself, he resumed

It is obvious from this remark, that the affairs of Scotland had been the subject of mature deliberation, even before Throkmorton left England, which was on the fifteenth of May; that so early it had been resolved to foment dissension among the subjects of the Scotish queen. Of this part of the conduct of her great rival, Mary certainly had reason bitterly to complain; and however much it might have been occasioned by the injudicious and ill-directed measures of this unhappy princess, it must be regarded as the commencement of that systematical hostility with which she had constantly to contend—which daily became more rancorous, and

this favourite subject. "There be here at Paris the wife of Knox the preacher, and her mother, who do shortly depart into England, as far as I can understand. They have made means unto me by diverse Scotchmen to have my letters in their favour, which I have promised to send by them to Mr Secretary. It may therefore please your majesty to be informed, that (in my poor opinion, saving your highness grave judgment) considering what Knox is able to do in Scotland, which is very much, all this turmoil there being by him stirred as it is, it should stand your majesty in stead his former faults were forgotten, and that no means be used to annoy him for the same; but that his wife, before she depart into Scotland, may perceive that there is no stomach born to her husband therefore, but that he may have good hope rather to look for favour and friendship at your majesty's hand than otherwise; which may work something of good purpose, like as I doubt not your majesty can consider better than I." Forbes p. 129, 130.

These hints, from so able a statesman, could not fail to have a powerful effect; and it may from the whole correspondence be inferred, not only that Elizabeth's ministers were prepared for the overtures of the Congregation, but that if these had not been made, some pretext for interference would have been discovered.

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which was satiated only by her iniquitous condemnation to a cruel and unworthy death.

The advantage which the lords of the Congregation derived from their alliance with England, was experienced even when the first subsidy was remitted to them; but it became much more apparent, and was much more sensibly felt, after their vigorous proceedings against the regent, and their determination to besiege Leith.

Lords besiege Leith.

Nothing is more calculated to exhaust the patience and to excite the discontent of undisciplined or mercenary troops, than the tedious prolongation of a siege. In the activity of a campaign, the spirits are elevated, and new objects or new hopes continually crowding upon the mind, the ardour of constitutional bravery is preserved; but under the walls of a town which has long been assailed in vain, every hardship is doubly felt, and despondency or mutiny is apt to be excited. From these general causes alone, the enterprise in which the lords had now engaged would have been very hazardous; but they laboured under peculiar difficulties. While the want of artillery rendered success in a great measure hopeless, the exhaustion of their resources placed before them the gloomy prospect of complaints, threatening to terminate in insubordination or revolt. The sallies of the besieged, although much bloodshed was not occasioned by them, harassed their troops, and rendered uninterrupted vigilance essentially necessary; while the solicitations

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of the regent, and the activity of her emissaries, seduced many from what was beginning to be regarded as a declining cause, or obtained such accurate information of the schemes which the lords had formed, as to render these schemes generally ineffectual *.

In this state of their affairs, the first supply from England was exhausted. The mercenary soldiers, by whom that supply had enabled them to strengthen their army, became tumultuous, threatened those officers who attempted to restore order, and, with a total contempt of principle, declared, that for ample pay they would cheerfully desert the cause which they had supported, and fight in defence of the Romish faith †.

Timidity of the Duke.

But the timidity of the duke was, if possible, still more alarming. At all times irresolute, he beheld with dismay the difficulties with which his new friends had to struggle. This was increased by the representations of some of his connections, who probably lamented that he had forsaken the court; and the depression of their nominal leader spread consternation among many, who, dazzled by his rank, measured by that standard the respect which they paid to his sentiments ‡.

Firmness of some of the Lords.

In this tremendous crisis, a few of the most de-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 320. Knox, B. ii. p. 188.

† Buchanan and Knox, as last quoted. Spottiswoode, p. 158. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 154. Keith, p. 109.

‡ Buchanan, Knox, Spottiswoode, Heylin, Keith, as last quoted.

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termined of the lords acted with the calmness and the wisdom which their situation so forcibly required. Instead of yielding to despair, or shrinking from the dangers with which they were encompassed, they summoned a council to devise the steps, which a regard to their best interests should incline them to follow. The first object to be accomplished was to annihilate the seditious and mutinous dispositions of their soldiers. It was evident to all, that this could not be done without complying with their demands for the pay which was due to them, and it was therefore resolved that the lords and barons should be immediately assessed. It was now found, however, that they had to encounter enemies no less formidable than those whom they besieged; that avarice could extinguish patriotism; that men who, without hesitation had hazarded their lives, and denied themselves many comforts to promote what they professed to revere as a sacred cause, would not support it by a direct pecuniary contribution. Some pled that they had already been reduced to poverty; others positively refused to give what was demanded; and it soon became evident that the requisite supply could not in this way be obtained. It was then proposed that every nobleman should send to the mint his family plate; but although no objection was made to the resolution, it was discovered, when it was about to be carried into effect, that the instruments of coinage had, from treachery, or which is much more pro-

Cannot raise money in Scotland.

bable, from the desire of some of the lords to preserve their plate, been taken away *.

Apply again to England.

Baffled in these schemes, nothing remained but to make a new application to England. It was accordingly determined to send a faithful messenger to Berwick, where Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts then were; stating the danger with which the lords were threatened, and soliciting such a sum of money as might save their army from disobedience or dispersion. The reluctance with which this plan was adopted, or rather the tardiness with which it was proposed, renders it evident, that the lords did not yet place much confidence in Elizabeth; that, not aware how intimately their cause was connected with the tranquillity and security of her dominions, they dreaded that she might not comply with the small request, which they were compelled

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 320. Knox, B. ii. p. 188. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 138. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 208. Keith, B. i. ch. x. p. 109. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 154. It appears, from the narration in the text, that the irons of the mint had not been given up as stipulated by the treaty with the regent; had they been so, no surprize would have been expressed by the protestant historians, that these instruments could not at this time be found. In what manner the execution of an article, which was to be fulfilled in a few hours, and for the fulfilment of which Lord Ruthven and the laird of Pittarrow were to be delivered as hostages, had been prevented, it is impossible now to discover. Probably the departure of the Congregation from Edinburgh, and of course the restoration of the palace of Holyroodhouse to the regent, had been considered as affording reason for dismissing the hostages, or the instruments of coinage may have, in the hurry of the moment, been overlooked. It is singular that no historian has made the remarks now stated, with regard to the violation, or apparent violation, of the treaty.

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to make *. This is the more remarkable, as there was, at that very time, an English agent in Scotland. Elizabeth's council, though fully disposed to expel, or to weaken the French forces, did not rely entirely upon the information which the protestant lords conveyed to them; but knowing that men so deeply interested, might, with the purest intentions, exaggerate their own strength, or see through a false medium every thing connected with their situation, they had dispatched Randolph to watch over events, to mark the conduct, the sentiments, and the exertions of the Congregation, and to transmit whatever intelligence he conceived to be important †. Yet it appears from the deliberation of the lords, that he was not authorized to intimate to them the purpose for which he had been sent, or to make any specific proposals on the part of his sovereign. Had they previously corresponded with him, at least in his official capacity, they would have naturally consulted with him respecting the supply, and would not have felt so much hesitation in demanding it. He had, however, privately intimated to them, that new levies were making in France, to be employed against them; he had endeavoured to inspire them with more vigour, when they were attempting to prevent the fortification of Leith; and

* Buchanan, Knox, Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

† Letter of Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts to the council of England, dated October 26th 1559, in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 148, and the Appendix to Keith's History of Scotland, p. 99.

perceiving the need in which they stood of money, he had represented this circumstance to Sadler, who, in consequence of the representation, had asked instructions from the council to regulate the advances which they would probably solicit *. 1559.

Money sent.

The lords selected Sir James Cockburn of Ormiston to go to Berwick, and he received from Sadler and Crofts four thousand crowns, or, as Sadler states in minutes of a letter to Randolph, one thousand pounds †.

Intercepted by the Earl of Bothwell.

The lords trusted that they had made their arrangements with the utmost secrecy, but the regent had received intelligence of them, and the Earl of Bothwell was instructed to intercept Cockburn. In this he was successful. After some resistance, Cockburn was taken, and the money which he was conveying to the lords thus fell into the possession of the regent ‡.

The conduct of Bothwell was reprobated by the Congregation as in a high degree dishonourable; for only a few days before he had opened a correspondence with them, and had given them reason to believe that he would unite with them. When they were informed of the severe injury which he had so unexpectedly done to them, the Earl of Arran and the prior, with a few horsemen, went to

* Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 149.

† Keith's Appendix to Book i. p. 30. It appears that the relative proportion of Scotch and English money was the same then as at present.

‡ Buchanan, p. 320. Knox p. 188, 189. Spottiswoode, p. 130.

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Crichton, the usual place of his residence, and where they had some expectation that they would overtake him. He had not, however, been so imprudent as to stop there; but they took possession of the house, and gave it in charge to one of their officers, trusting that anxiety to prevent its being pillaged or destroyed, would induce him to restore the money. Having been disappointed, they considered themselves as warranted to seek indemnification by appropriating what the castle contained: they, without scruple, plundered it, but the value of what they found proved very inconsiderable *.

The loss of this money was deeply felt by the lords. All hope of extinguishing the murmurs of their army was destroyed, and from this time they acted upon many occasions with a degree of rashness, and with a want of judgment, exposing them to the reverses which they so soon experienced.

Oct. 31st. Congregation defeated.

On the day upon which Arran and the prior had in vain attempted to intercept Bothwell, James Haliburton, the provost, with some of the inhabitants of Dundee, and a small body of mercenary troops, marched to Leith, and planted a few pieces of artillery, with the design of annoying the garrison. This step shewed that there was now little concert amongst the chief men of the Congregation, for

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 320. Knox, B. ii. p. 189, 190. Spotswoode, B. iii. p. 159. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 158. Sadler's correspondence with Randolph, in Crawford, Vol. I. p. 168.

Haliburton was not supported by the cavalry, and the Duke and the Earl of Glencairn seem to have received no information of his intention *. The spies of the regent instantly communicated to her the state of the enemy, and she dispatched a few troops to overpower the detachment which attended the ordnance. The inhabitants of Dundee made some resistance, expecting that they would be supported, but the mercenary soldiers having given way, the whole were compelled to retreat. While they were deliberately retiring, they were alarmed by false intelligence that the French were marching to cut them off from Edinburgh. This threw them into irretrievable confusion. Every person, regardless of his place, or of his companions, eagerly pressed towards the city, which, after some slaughter, they fortunately reached †.

1559. Oct. 31st.

The effect of this defeat was much more formidable than the defeat itself. Many who, during the period of success, had displayed the utmost zeal for the new faith, convinced that it would soon be exterminated, withdrew from the Congregation; while numbers actually proposed, that the enterprise in which, with the most solemn appeals to heaven, they had engaged, should at once be relinquished ‡. The few who remained steady, although they labour-

Dismay.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 189. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 320.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 320. Knox, B. ii. p. 189, 190. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 139. Keith, B. i. ch. x. p. 109. The accounts of these writers should be compared.

‡ Buchanan, p. 320. Knox, p. 190.

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ed to retrieve their decaying fortunes, had little prospect and almost no hope of success, for all advice was despised and rejected; and it is only astonishing that the regent did not so profit by their fears and their dissension as to complete their destruction.

In this distracted and disgraceful situation they continued for several days, till it became necessary to attack the French, who had sallied forth to intercept a supply of provisions destined for the protestant army*. Urgent, however, as was this call to unanimity, for upon success their existence almost entirely depended, it did not unite them. Many of the soldiers marched with the utmost reluctance, while some obstinately remained in the city. The Earl of Arran and the prior endeavoured to rouse the military ardour of their adherents; and they so far succeeded, that soon after they had gone out of Edinburgh, they were joined by the most conscientious of the protestants. In their eagerness to make an impression upon the enemy, and to stimulate, by success, the decaying zeal which they deplored, they rashly advanced too far, and exposed their troops not only to the whole of the regent's army, but to the artillery from the garrison. They at once discerned the danger of their situation. The enemy, taking advantage of the error, arranged their detachments, with the view of interposing between the troops of the Congregation and Edinburgh; and

Nvo. 6th.

Intrepidity of the Prior and the Earl of Arran.

* Knox and Buchanan, as last quoted.

at one time these troops were in extreme hazard of being cut to pieces, or of being compelled to surrender. The calmness and heroism of Arran and the prior saved their army. Descending from their horses, they rushed into the thickest of the battle, and their friends, animated by the example, made a most vigorous opposition. Alexander Haliburton, a young man, who had eminently distinguished himself by his bravery and his zeal, with the utmost resolution and presence of mind, facilitated a retreat; but in this gallant service he received a mortal wound, and soon after expired. The forces of the Congregation were, however, enabled to return to Edinburgh, and the regent's army, uncertain of the disposition of the governor of the castle, fortunately did not continue the pursuit *.

Maitland of Lethington joins the Congregation.

This second disaster filled all with the gloomiest despondency; but they had, a little before these reverses, received an accession of talent, the importance and value of which they soon experienced. Maitland of Lethington, a young man of an elegant mind, and of great abilities, who had completed his education in France, and had been distinguished

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 320. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 518. Knox, B. ii. p. 191, 192. Spottiswode, B. iii. p. 139. Keith, who is commonly accurate, has confounded this action with the one which happened on the 31st of October, and quotes Leslie as his authority for asserting, that in the battle of the 31st Haliburton fell. Leslie gives an account only of the action of the sixth of November.

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by the favour of Mary his sovereign, had, upon his return to Scotland, naturally espoused the cause of her mother; but disgusted by the coldness, and even antipathy, with which he was regarded by the regent, he secretly escaped from Leith and joined the Congregation *.

The addition of such a man, under any other circumstances than those in which they now were, would have been justly appreciated, but such was their dejection that it could not be removed, even by his eloquence and his information. He placed, in the most striking light, the necessity of union; he exhibited all the evils which awaited them, if they should relax in their efforts; but fear and dolour, as Knox strongly expresses it, had so seized the hearts of all, that they could admit of no consolation. Arran and the prior alone, of the nobility, retained the spirit which nothing that had yet happened ought to have affected. They offered, if only a very small number would adhere to them, to remain in Edinburgh to defend the cause; but even that number could not be obtained, and the pusillanimous resolution of abandoning the city and retiring to Stirling was unanimously adopted †.

Retire to Stirling in despondency.

Nov. 6th.

* Mackenzie's Life of Sir William Maitland, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 220. Leslie, p. 318. Knox, p. 192. Spottiswoode, p. 189.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 321. Knox, B. ii. p. 192. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 159. Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 158, 159, being postcript of a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts to Cecil, and p. 160, being a letter from Randolph to Sadler and Crofts, dated Nov. 11th.

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1559. Fallen in the public estimation.

No contrast can be conceived more marked than that between the conduct which led to this determination, and the vigour and decision which the manifestoes of the Congregation indicated. These seemed to be the productions of men whom no dangers could intimidate, no hardships appal; of men who, associating with the noble cause to which they had devoted themselves, their duty to their Creator, regarded sufferings with the heroism of the martyrs, and would cheerfully resign their lives, to purchase for their country what they had justly represented as the greatest of blessings. But the first reverse of fortune tore aside the veil, and shewed that the ardent resolutions of enthusiasm often yield, when the difficulties which had been despised actually arrive. There can be no doubt that shame and indignation would have again called them to exertion; that they would soon have become familiar with the aspect of misfortune, and would have beheld it with unshaken intrepidity; but at this period they were clamorous to forsake the field of glory, and regarded with antipathy, or with abhorrence, all who reminded them of what they had sworn to accomplish. The general opinion of their countrymen was in harmony with that which has been stated; their reverence for the protestants was very generally dissipated; they looked on them with the contempt with which timidity, under such circumstances, must always be regarded; and they embittered the ignominy of their retreat by

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reproaches which Knox has recorded, which he considered as the evidence of malicious and corrupt dispositions, but which, he should have remembered, that his associates most justly deserved *.

Eloquence and fortitude of Knox.

Whatever blame his adherents had incurred, in that blame he had himself no share. His intrepid mind was superior to calamity; and accordingly, when the lords came to Stirling, at which place it had been resolved to deliberate upon the steps to be taken, he prepared their minds for deliberation by an energetic sermon, in which he so successfully exposed the weakness of their conduct, so clearly pointed out how much was to be expected from reflecting upon their errors, so forcibly shewed that if they continued to trust in the Almighty, there was no ground to despair, but the strongest ground to be convinced that their cause would triumph, that a new spirit was inspired into almost every one who heard him. The darkness which had hung over their minds began to disperse; the lords entered the council with the determination that they would not submit to the fate which the queen-regent, elated by success, and influenced by the exterminating maxims of the French court, would, upon their relinquishing opposition, undoubtedly assign to them; and they invited Knox to attend, that he might implore the blessing of Heaven upon the resolutions which they should frame †.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 192, 193.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 193—197, has given a very full account of his

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After mature consideration, it was resolved to send Maitland upon a special embassy to Elizabeth, that he might describe to her in person the real condition of the protestants in Scotland, and might urge every argument which could dispose her to grant to them powerful and immediate assistance. They agreed, that till the result of the embassy should be known, the Congregation should divide into two parts; the one, under the duke, to be stationed in the west of Scotland, the other, under the prior and several considerable noblemen, to occupy Fife, particularly that district of it contiguous to St Andrews. They appointed a meeting of the lords to be held at Stirling on the sixteenth of December, probably for the purpose of considering Elizabeth's reply, and of regulating by it the plan of their future operations*.

1559. Nov. 8th. Resolve to state their situation to Elizabeth.

It is obvious that they now rested all their hopes of eventual success upon the co-operation of

sermon, honourable to his talents, to his sincerity, to his Scriptural knowledge, and to his eloquence. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 321. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 140. Calderwood, p. 12. Knox and Calderwood from him, say, that the sermon was delivered on the 7th. It was delivered on a Wednesday; and Keith has observed, that in the year 1559, Monday was the 6th of November; hence Wednesday was the 8th, and the battle, if fought on Monday, as stated by most of the historians, and placed beyond a doubt by Randolph, should be marked as happening on the 6th.

* Knox, B. ii. p. 197. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 321. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 610. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 139, 140. Heylin's History of the Reformation, Part II. p. 126. Keith, B. i. ch. x. p. 110.

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England, and they acted with much prudence in committing a negotiation so delicate and interesting, to the talents and address of Lethington. This was the first direct application which they made to Elizabeth. Much correspondence indeed had taken place between them and Sir Ralph Sadler, who had been sent to Berwick to superintend, in conjunction with Sir James Crofts the governor of the town, any intercourse which might be established. He had, accordingly, communicated the requests of the lords to the English council, and had received directions concerning the language which he was to hold to the Scotish patriots; but all this had been secretly conducted. It appears, from the correspondence, that the English government anxiously avoided taking any open part. It was probably struck with the ignominy which a flagrant breach of treaty, without any ostensible provocation, would fix upon it; and hence it not only limited its assistance to supplies of money, but it cautiously abstained from sending the coins of England, lest the rapid increase of their circulation might discover from what source they had been poured into the country. Knox, it is true, soon perceived that this kind of assistance would be unavailing; and so early as the end of October he wrote, under a feigned name, to Crofts, pointing out to him the importance of aiding the Congregation by a military force. Sensible, however, that this decided undisguised interference would appear improper, he endeavour-

Secret correspondence of Knox with the Governor of Berwick.

ed to enforce it by a mode of reasoning, shewing too plainly how much attachment to party may warp the soundest understanding, and lead it to approve maxims which, had it been unbiassed, it would have rejected with abhorrence. Crofts, who saw the difficulty, either condemned the sophistry of Knox, or chose to appear as if he did so; and he answered in such a manner as inspired the reformer with more correct sentiments; but while he held this language, he was so deeply impressed with the interesting nature of the information which he had obtained, from one so eminently qualified to convey it, that he communicated it to the council, and even expressed his opinion that open aid must in the end be given. The council accordingly sent down a faithful messenger to Scotland, to promise military and naval support, about the very time that the lords sent Maitland to the English queen. As they, however, were necessarily ignorant of this determination in their favour, and were most solicitous to know precisely what they had to expect, they evinced much wisdom in making a direct appeal to Elizabeth *.

English Council had resolved to support the Congregation.

* Crawford's Collection of State Papers respecting Scotland. Vol. I. Keith's Appendix to the first Book of his History of Scotland. It may be satisfactory to the reader to have under his view the most important communications, either between the Scotish refugees and the English council, or between the council and its agents, respecting an advance of money to the Congregation. The lords wrote to Sir Ralph Sadler of date the 6th of November, the very day upon which the engagement compelling them to abandon Edinburgh took place, men-

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1559. Leave Stirling. Nov.

Having adopted their schemes, they left Stirling, intending, however, to watch every opportunity of improving their situation, and of harassing and embarrassing the operations of the enemy. They were soon to witness the happiest revolution in their favour. From the lowest depression of adversity, they were rapidly to ascend, till they attained such

tioning the loss of the money sent by Cockburn, and requesting at least L. 1000 to be sent to them by Baxter, the bearer of the letter. On the day before this, Sadler and Crofts had written to Cecil, mentioning the loss of the L. 1000, anticipating a fresh demand, in consequence of a notification which had been made to the lords through Randolph, that money for their use had been sent to Berwick, asking whether, under the circumstances of the Congregation, it should be given, but expressing their own opinion that it should not be withheld. On the 8th of November, the same persons sent a dispatch to Cecil, informing him that they had signified to the lords that they would get the money which they had requested, and had exhorted them to use every effort to get possession of Leith. In this letter, they replied to several inquiries which the council had addressed to them. 1. They state their conviction that the lords should be supplied with money, and be assisted by advice, and begged that any additional sums destined for Scotland might be sent in French crowns, because English coin would excite suspicion. (This shews that England wished to appear as if she acted in conformity to the treaty, while she virtually violated it.) 2. They suggest the propriety of experienced officers being sent from England to assist the Congregation. 3. They state that they had promised to supply the Congregation with money for raising any forces necessary for taking Leith. Lastly, they represent that if the council did assist the lords, they would be faithful to England, insinuating that the queen might openly declare for them. In a postcript to this letter, they mention the defeat of the lords on Monday the sixth of November, their retreat from Edinburgh, and the occupation of it by the queen-regent. They advise that more aid should be given to the lords. On the 11th of November, Randolph wrote to Sadler and Crofts, informing them of the defeat of the Con-

decided superiority, as to give law to their sovereign, and to establish those religious sentiments, for which they had long humbly solicited toleration, but which, fortunately for succeeding ages, the infatuated policy of France had determined to eradicate from Scotland.

gregation, of the retreat of the lords to Stirling, of their apprehensions lest Elizabeth should doubt the sincerity of their professions, and of the appointment of Maitland as ambassador to the English sovereign. On the 19th of November, before the council could have heard of Maitland's appointment, they wrote to Sadler and Crofts, in answer to the postcript, stating that they were still undetermined with respect to the line of conduct to be observed towards Scotland; but that they had sent Randall, a confidential agent, who was instructed to encourage the lords, to confirm them in the resolution not to desert their enterprise; and to assure them, that if they continued to conduct themselves as wise and prudent men, that is, if they continued devoted to England, they might depend upon the most effectual support, both by sea and land. On the 25th November, Sadler and Crofts wrote to Cecil, intimating the arrival of Lethington at Berwick, informing him that they had not thought it requisite to send Randall into Scotland, and explaining to him the views of the lords in dividing their forces. The whole of this correspondence shews the uneasiness with which England contemplated the influence of France in Scotland, and the gradual progress of the resolution to make a common cause with the Congregation. Knox's first letter to Crofts was dated the 25th of October. It is published in Keith's Appendix to the first Book of his History, and certainly does not exhibit, in the most favourable point of view, the candour and inflexible uprightness of that great reformer.

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

The Regent enters Edinburgh....Re-establishes the ancient religion....Her apprehensions of England....Military operations against the Congregation....Success of Maitland's embassy....An English Fleet sent to the Frith of Forth....The Regent endeavours to ascertain the purpose of its arrival....Elizabeth resolves to assist the Lords with a military force....Preparation for the treaty of Berwick....Instructions to the Duke of Norfolk....Correspondence....Elizabeth reluctant to proceed to extremities....Little influenced, in her conduct to the Congregation, by religious motives, or by regard to the liberty of Scotland....Treaty of Berwick....Articles of it....She exacts from the Lords strong professions of loyalty....Lord Grey appointed to command the army ....French Court penetrate the duplicity of Elizabeth.... Policy adopted by that Court....Discernment of Throkmorton....His conversation with the Cardinal of Lorrain....Impression made by the French ambassador in London....Elizabeth delays the junction of her army with the Congregation....Representations of Throkmorton....Bishop of Valence arrives in England....Memorial addressed to Elizabeth by her Council....Its effects....English army enter Scotland....Irresolution of Elizabeth....King of Spain interferes....Grey enjoined to treat with the Queen-Regent....She removes to Edinburgh Castle....Petition addressed to her by the Lords ....Disregarded....Grey's negotiation....Anxiety of Elizabeth....Apprehension of the Lords....Their last bond....

Earl of Huntly....Bishop of Valence fails in restoring peace....The combined army besiege Leith....Elizabeth steadily supports the Congregation....State of France.... Its influence upon the Court....Wish to negotiate.... Cecil appointed one of the English commissioners.... Death and character of the Queen-Regent.

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1559. Nov. Regent enters Edinburgh. Establishes the ancient religion.

Upon the evacuation of Edinburgh by the Congregation, the regent immediately took possession of it, re-establishing the ancient religion with an ostentatious solemnity, and with a severity towards the protestants, not calculated to allay that spirit of discontent and of rebellion, which was so widely diffused throughout Scotland*.

Her apprehensions of England.

But while she rejoiced in the success with which her exertions were now crowned, she beheld with much apprehension the connection which the lords had formed with England; and convinced that Elizabeth would embrace some opportunity of assisting them, she accompanied the intimation which she made to the French court respecting the defeat of the Congregation, with the most urgent requests that the reinforcements which had been promised might be speedily sent, effectually to prevent any

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 618. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 139. Keith, B. i. ch. x. p. 113. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 155. It was at this time, that according to Spottiswoode, Keith, and some other historians, the bishop of Amiens consecrated anew the church of St Giles; but I think, from Leslie's account, that it was done sooner, probably within a very short time after the bishop's arrival in Scotland.

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new attempt to set at defiance her authority, and to overturn the church *.

1559.

The king of France still continued in his determination of dispatching a powerful army to reduce Scotland under a military government, and was making every effort to raise supplies for furnishing it with whatever might insure success. By the advice of the queen-regent, his council determined not to trust solely to arms, but to endeavour, with their usual dexterity in negotiation, to induce the queen of England not to assist the Congregation †.

The Marquis D'Elbeuf sailed from Calais with formidable armament in November or the beginning of December, but after having come within sight of Scotland, his fleet was dispersed by a storm. Several of his ships were lost, and with much difficulty he brought back the wreck of his forces to the coast from which, fifteen days before, they had put to sea in triumph. The Count de Martigues was more fortunate. With a thousand infantry and a few cavalry under his command, he reached the

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Orkney islands; and at length, early in January, he arrived to reinforce and to command the French troops which were with the regent ‡.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 199. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 140.

† Forbes's transactions of Queen Elizabeth. For full information of the intentions and difficulties of the French court respecting Scotland, consult the correspondence in the two last months of 1559 and the beginning of 1560.

‡ Leslie, Lib. x. p. 518, 519. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 322. Knox, B. iii. p. 299, 300. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 139, 140. Camden's

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1559. Military operations against the Congregation.

While the regent was expecting new aid from her daughter, she resolved to use the forces which she already had in annihilating the scattered bands of the Congregation. Her attention was first directed to that part of them which had marched towards the west. The duke, upon his arrival at Glasgow, took possession of the archbishop's castle, turned the fury of his followers against the images and altars still remaining in the churches, and spread consternation amongst the established clergy, the adherents of the prelate, and all who professed to reverence the religion in which they had been educated*. Upon receiving intelligence of these

Annals, p. 49. Castelnau's Memoirs, apud Jebb, Vol. II. p. 450. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 412. Keith, B. i. ch. xi. p. 120. There is much confusion and much contradiction in the accounts which these different writers give of the arrival of additional French troops, of their number, of the person by whom they were commanded, and of the time of their coming to Scotland. Great light, however, is thrown upon the subject by the correspondence contained in Dr Forbes's account of the transactions of Queen Elizabeth. The English ministers at Paris had the best access to know when the Marquis D'Elbeuf sailed, and what was the result of his expedition; and as Martigues did not return, they were naturally led to make inquiry about him, and to transmit to their court the information which they received. I have adopted their account; indeed, till I saw it, I was perplexed with the contradictory statements of other writers, and astonished at the carelessness with which many of them had evidently written. See Forbes, p. 301, being a letter from Killigrew and Jones to the lords of the English council, dated Paris, 17th January 1560, and p. 307, being a letter from Throkmorton to Cecil, dated Dover, 24th January 1560.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 519. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 140. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 900. Keith, B. i. ch. x. p. 110.

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proceedings, the archbishop, who was in Edinburgh, marched with a small body of troops, and having retaken his castle, which indeed was deserted at his approach, returned on the subsequent day *.

This expedition seems to have secured the tranquillity of that district of Scotland; for although the duke soon after this entered Glasgow, and even

Nov. 29.

issued a proclamation in the name of his sovereign against the popish faith, and all who professed it, there is no account of any acts of hostility having been committed, or of the regent finding it necessary again to oppose him †.

The great object which she and her council had in view, was to disperse those of the Congregation who had gone to Fife, and who were under the direction or the command of the Prior. She accordingly sent a considerable part of her army to Stirling, from which they marched into Fife, with the design of getting possession of the castle of St An-

December.

drews, and of restoring the fortifications. The lords were not intimidated at the approach of the enemy. Although much inferior in force, they attempted to retard or to defeat them; and in various skirmishes they displayed a degree of judgment and of intre-

* Leslie and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

† Keith, B. 1. ch. x. p. 111, has transcribed from Petrie this proclamation by the duke. Petrie obtained it from the laird of Dun, and first published it. I did not find it amongst the papers of the family; it was probably never returned.

pidity which astonished their opponents, and was frequently rewarded with victory *.

As it is foreign to the intention of this work minutely to detail these encounters, I hasten to trace the events which immediately affected the cause of the reformation, and to which the attention of all who supported it was anxiously directed.

Success of Maitland's embassy.

Maitland, agreeably to his instructions, lost no time in repairing to the court of Elizabeth, and he executed his commission with the greatest prudence and ability. The queen's mind, as has been already stated, had been long occupied with the condition of Scotland; the most intelligent of her counsellors had maturely deliberated upon the subject; and the result of their discussions, with regard to the proposals which Lethington submitted to them, was in the highest degree favourable to the Congregation. They still, however, felt reluctance to throw aside the mask of friendship, and to take a decided part in the war against the regent; but the increasing strength of the French armies, the antipathy which the house of Guise entertained to Elizabeth, the obstinacy with which the king and queen of France persisted in using the arms and arrogating the title of the English sovereign, so far overcame this reluctance, that Maitland was authorized to transmit to the lords the most gratifying accounts respecting the issue of his embassy.

* Buchanan Lib. xvi. p. 321—322. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 520. Knox, B. iii. p. 300, 301. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 140, 141. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 900.

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1559. An English fleet sent to the Frith of Forth.

The first point which the council was anxious to secure, was the prevention of any addition to the French troops already in Scotland; and for this purpose a considerable fleet, under the command of Admiral Winter, was ordered to be stationed in the Frith of Forth. The admiral was instructed to consult with Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, upon the safety of entering the Frith. If he should find this practicable, he was to remain there without committing hostilities, unless he were attacked by the French, or by the Scotch devoted to their interest. If no such attack should be made, he was, notwithstanding, to prevent all French vessels with provisions or men from coming into the Frith; to permit none to escape from it; to oppose the landing of any forces from ships already arrived; and to assist as much as he could the lords and their party. But although a system of caution was recommended to him, he was at the same time enjoined, not to neglect a very favourable opportunity, if such should occur, of engaging the French fleet, and always to keep his own vessels ready for action. He was commanded to remain chiefly at the mouth of the Frith; to assign, if challenged, some plausible pretext for his being there; to keep constantly in mind, that the great object to be effectuated, was to hinder any power coming from France or going to it; to use the utmost circumspection till the Duke of Norfolk should come to the borders; and to embrace every occasion, till that should take place, of requesting

the advice of the persons with whom he had been ordered to consult upon his arrival in the Scotish seas *. CHAP. XIV 1560.

When he appeared in the Frith, the French having previously overcome the opposition made by the Congregation, were marching along the coast to take possession of St Andrews. Upon descrying the fleet, they were persuaded that it contained the reinforcements under the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and they were much elated with the prospect of such an accession to their numbers. A few hours, however, dissipated the delusion. They received unquestionable intelligence, that it was a fleet from England, and dreading that they might be cut off from the rest of their countrymen, they made a vigorous effort to return to Leith, where they arrived in a few days, having lost some men from the severity of the cold, and from the fatigue to which they had been exposed †. Jan. 15th.

The regent was no sooner informed of the arrival of Winter, than she dispatched a messenger to inquire for what purpose he had come. In conformity with his instructions, he gave this evasive reply, The regent endeavours to ascertain the purpose of its arrival.

* Stowe's Annals, p. 641. Camden's Annals, p. 47. Hayne's Collection of State Papers left by Lord Burleigh, and published at London, 1740, Vol. I.; correspondence contained from p. 218 to p. 228. Keith's Appendix to Book 1st of his History, p. 45, where a copy of the instructions to Winter is inserted from the Cotton Library.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 321, 322. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 300. Knox B. iii. p. 209.

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That he had sailed in pursuit of some pirates, and that he had directed his course towards the Frith, in the hope that he would meet with them in the adjacent seas *. The queen-dowager had too much penetration to be satisfied with such an answer; she therefore complained to Elizabeth of this breach of friendship, requesting that she would recal her ships, and not violate the treaty with France, by affording support to those who had risen in rebellion against their lawful sovereign. Elizabeth stated, that she had no intention of going to war either with Scotland or France; that having heard of French troops being sent to Scotland, without knowing for what purpose, she had taken such precautions as would secure her dominions against any attack which might be made upon them; but that she would not permit her subjects to enter Scotland, unless they were compelled to do so in their own defence †.

Elizabeth resolves to assist the lords.

But although she held this pacific language to the regent, she was convinced that it would be requisite to aid the lords of the Congregation; and she had actually given full powers to the Duke of Norfolk to meet with their commissoners at Berwick, and to arrange the conditions upon which her assistance would be given. The lords, informed of this de-

Preparations for the treaty of Berwick.

* Leslie, Lib. xvi. p. 321. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 301.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 321. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 301, 302.

termination, met at Cupar, and elected, as their representatives for completing a treaty, to them so interesting, the prior of St Andrews, Lord Ruthven, the masters of Maxwell and Lindsay, the laird of Pittarrow, Henry Balnaves, and Maitland, who was still in England. All these, with the exception of Maxwell, repaired to Berwick, authorized to conclude any agreement which they should consider as calculated to advance the interest and the views of the Congregation *. 1560. Feb.

It was not, however, till after Elizabeth had made many efforts to gain her object without a formal alliance, that she consented to treat with the discontented faction in Scotland. This is apparent from the very particular instructions which, even after the Duke of Norfolk's appointment to superintend the armaments destined to act in that country, were given to him, both by the council and by the queen herself. In a letter from the queen, he was enjoined to confer with Sadler, "whether it would not be sufficient aid to the Scotch, for the expulsion of the French, if the ships sent by her should lie in the Frith, and prevent the arrival of any supplies from France. And as for their farther aid upon the land, to let certain good English captains secretly depart to them, to lead their men; and some vessel with powder, small field ordnance and shot, to be co- Instructions to the Duke of Norfolk. Dec. 30. 1559.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 214—217. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 141. Keith, B. i. p. 116, 117.

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lourably taken by the Scotchmen in the Frith, either on the Lothian side, or the side of Fife; and some gunners by the like colour, to serve the same purpose; and so farther to give them in other things such aid as might serve their turn to expel the French, and yet not to have any open hostility on our part shewn at the first †."

Elizabeth reluctant to proceed to extremities.

From this and some subsequent letters, the aversion of the English queen to take an open part in the war is placed beyond a doubt; but Norfolk was too well informed of the state of parties, to flatter her with the hope that temporizing schemes would be sufficient. So late as the twenty-fourth of January, he found it necessary to deliver his opinion explicitly upon the subject. In a letter to Cecil, he thus answers the question whether the Scotch were able of themselves to deliver their country from the foreign troops which they were anxious to remove. "How the Scotch are able to do this, you have had experience, for you may be sure that if their power had extended thereto, neither would they have required our aid, nor yet had it been to do at this time. Wherefore, considering how far her majesty hath proceeded with them, and what hope they stand in of her majesty's aid, which hath been so assuredly promised unto them, I cannot see how the same can be staid, with-

† Haynes's Collection of State Papers, Vol. I. p. 219.

out some dishonour, and also great danger of both these realms *."

Forcible as was this representation, it did not totally decide the sentiments of the queen; for in the letter of instructions which she wrote to Norfolk, in which she declares her determination to assist the lords against the French, she adds "except it should appear to you, either with such wise and experienced men as ye shall judge meet to consult, or with the lords of Scotland, that the nobility, and part of Scotland themselves, shall be able to expel the force of France which is presently here, or otherwise be able to preserve the kingdom from subduing and subversion †."

It appears from this correspondence, that Elizabeth was deeply impressed with the evils which, by rushing into a war, she might bring upon her kingdom; that, like a good sovereign, she was anxious for the continuance of peace; but that, at the same time, she was convinced that the triumph of the French in Scotland, would not only endanger her own safety, but might prove fatal to the independence of her subjects. This conviction was the great motive by which she was actuated. Religious considerations probably had little or no weight; for although she was certainly attached to the protestant

Little influenced in her conduct to the Congregation by religious motives;

* Hayne's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 230. Sir Ralph Sadler, whose opinion deservedly had great weight with the council, signs this letter with the duke.

† Hayne's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 242—244.

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faith, and upon various occasions gave to it the most powerful and seasonable support, she would have reprobated the sentiments which Knox had disseminated in Scotland, and would have felt little inclination, in so far as their peculiar opinions were concerned, to assist men who, in their zeal to emancipate themselves from the shackles of Rome, had lost all respect for that splendour, and those appeals to the senses, which she was eager to continue in the church of England *.

Or by regard to the liberty of Scotland.

Neither is it likely that regard to the rights and liberties of the people of Scotland, would have induced her to aid them by the resources of her kingdom: for although, in all her memorials and negotiations, she affected the utmost anxiety to preserve these, yet her attachment to liberty was too feeble to make her stand forth as its champion, had she not, in fighting for so noble a cause, most evidently strengthened the bulwarks by which her own throne was supported.

It will soon appear that the policy of this princess, in cautiously avowing herself the ally of the Congregation, was the result of extensive views of the relative condition of the principal European states; but she was at length satisfied that it was necessary to enter into a treaty, and Norfolk met the Scotch commissioners at Berwick to adjust the terms. After mature deliberation the treaty was concluded,

* Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. ii. p. 137.

and I shall give the substance of its most material articles. 1. Elizabeth took into her protection the kingdom of Scotland, the Duke of Chatelherault and his party, in order to maintain Scotland in its liberties, as long as the marriage of Mary with the king of France subsisted, and a year longer. 2. She engaged to send them succours, and to continue the same till the French were driven out of the kingdom. 3. She bound herself to make no agreement with France till the French and Scotch were agreed to let the kingdom of Scotland enjoy its full liberty. 4. She engaged not to abandon the confederates as long as they owned Mary for their queen, and endeavoured to maintain the rights of the crown. 5. It was agreed that if the English took places in Scotland from France, these places should be demolished or delivered to the duke of Chatelherault, at his choice, and that the English should make no fortifications. 6. The duke and his party pledged themselves to join their forces to those of England. It was farther stipulated: 7. That they should not suffer any union of Scotland and France, but what then existed. 8. That the enemies of England should be the enemies of the Scotch. 9. That if England were attacked by France, the lords should furnish the queen with two thousand foot and two thousand horse. 10. That if the invasion should be in the north, they would join their forces to those of the queen, at their own expence. 11. That if the Earl of Argyll,

1560. Treaty at Berwick. Feb. 27th. Articles.

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lord-justice of Scotland, should join the duke, he should use his efforts to reduce the north of Ireland under the dominion of the queen of England, according to the treaty which he might make with the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. 12. That the lords should give hostages, to remain in the hands of the queen of England as long as the queen of Scotland's marriage with the king of France subsisted. Lastly, The confederates protested, that they would continue loyal to the queen of Scotland, and to the king her husband, in every thing that did not tend to the subversion of the laws*.

Elizabeth exacts from the Lords strong professions of loyalty.

In this important document, the loyalty of the Scotish lords is solemnly and explicitly declared.

* A very full account of this treaty is given by Knox in the third Book of his History, and he thus introduces it: "And because we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make report of that our fact, we have faithfully and truly inserted in this our History, the said contract made at Berwick, that the memory thereof may abide to our posterity, to the end that they may judge with impartiality whether we have done any thing prejudicial to our commonwealth, or contrary to that dutiful obedience which true subjects owe to their superiors, whose authority ought to defend and maintain the liberty and freedom of the realms committed to their charge." I have copied this preamble, not merely to shew the enlightened sentiments which Knox entertained upon the nature of government, but to observe from it that he plainly approved those parts of the treaty which enforced loyalty to the sovereign, and consequently that he was not, as he has been often represented, hostile to monarchial government, a fomenter of turbulence and sedition. See also, respecting the treaty, Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XV. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 42—44. Hayne's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 288—288, from a minute indorsed by Cecil. Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 169—174, from Cotton Lib. Caligula B. x. Camden's Annals, p. 48, 49.

It is probable, that without assurances upon this point, Elizabeth would have refused to extend to them her support; for she uniformly asserted that they were not rebels, that she would not have been accessory to conduct, which it was the interest of all sovereigns to prevent or to punish. It is also remarkable, that not the most distant allusion is made to one of the most striking transactions of the lords, their suspension of the queen-dowager's authority. It may be supposed, that this step was not agreeable to Elizabeth, and the lords themselves do not seem to have been anxious to fix upon it her attention. Indeed, although they never formally rescinded their resolution, they appear to have tacitly departed from it; for we shall find that they soon addressed to this princess a memorial, implying that she was invested with the power which they had rashly attempted, by their act, to take away. 1560.

The representatives of the Congregation requested that the queen of England would confirm the treaty by letters-patent under the great seal; and they sent Maitland to urge this request, not from their having any doubt of her good faith, but from their anxiety completely to satisfy those of the nobles who, without such a ratification, might suspect the validity of the contract. In the meantime, they agreed to return home, that they might collect and prepare their forces, which were to join those of the English queen at Achison-haven in Lothian, by the end of March; and they pledged themselves to Mar. 25th.

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be ready to deliver the hostages required, as soon as Elizabeth had consented to the ratification under the great seal. The Duke of Norfolk, from the communication which he had with the prior and the other commissioners, was thoroughly convinced of their good faith, and of their inclination to join cordially with his sovereign; and accordingly, when transmitting to her an account of the negotiations, he stated his belief, "that they were grave and discreet men, disposed to hope favourably of the dispositions of the majority of their countrymen towards them, but too cautious to make promises which they might not be able to fulfil; that they had the utmost zeal to do whatever tended to unite in perpetual concord the two British nations, and that they only wanted that support which England could so effectually bestow*."

Lord Grey appointed to command the army.

Soon after the convention at Berwick, Lord Grey was appointed to command the army which was to march into Scotland; and in case of his death, or of his being rendered unable to discharge his duty, Sir James Crofts was nominated as his successor, and was instructed to accompany the expedition†.

French Court penetrate the duplicity of Elizabeth.

Although Elizabeth had hitherto declined openly professing her intentions respecting the Congregation—although the treaty of Berwick was actually

* Hayne's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 255 and 260. Letter from the Duke of Norfolk, &c. to the lords of the privy-council, dated the last of February.

† Hayne's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 256, 257.

concluded when she was disavowing all hostile intentions against France, the emissaries of that kingdom readily perceived what were her real designs, and conveyed information to their court of the measures which she had adopted *.

Policy of that Court.

The attention of the French court was thus directed to England, and they determined to use every effort to prevent so formidable an accession to the strength of the Scotish protestants, as would be made by Elizabeth. With their usual policy, they resolved at this time to have recourse to dissimulation, to affect to the English queen the strongest desire of peace, and thus to suspend her aid to the Congregation, till troops could be collected in France to reinforce the regent, and till means could be found safely to convey them.

It was the happiness of Elizabeth to be served by ministers not only devoted to her interest—not only ambitious, through the most faithful discharge of their duty, to be honoured with her approbation, but who were possessed of the most splendid talents, and who had frequently exercised these talents in unravelling the intrigues and tracing the crooked policy, to which France, in these days no less than in the present, delighted to resort. Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, one of the most eminent of her negotiators, was about this interesting period dispatch-

Discernment of Throkmorton.

* Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. Note by Sir Robert Cotton at the end of the treaty of Berwick in Crawford, but written by Sir Robert at the beginning of it. Cotton Library, Cal. B. 8.

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ed to Paris. While prosecuting his journey, he accidentally met with De Sevre, the ambassador commissioned by France to repair to the court of England. He lost no time in conveying to his sovereign an account of the character and talents by which this man was distinguished, and of bending all the force of his own vigorous mind to ascertain the precise views which the family of Guise, the depositaries of the prerogative in France, really entertained *. He suspected that De Sevre had received instructions to assume the language of moderation only to give more efficacy to schemes which it was the interest of Elizabeth to defeat; and he was soon satisfied that his conjecture was founded in truth †. He accordingly urged the queen, the lords

* Forbes's Account of Public Transactions.—Correspondence at the beginning of 1560.

† Forbes's Public Transactions. The character which Throkmorton, in his letters to the lords, gives of De Sevre, is very striking—delineates most forcibly the qualifications which often lead to eminence and secure success in the negotiations of princes. "If ear will be given to honied words—if sweet language will persuade—if speeches well applied and couched, will be believed—if large offers of things and effect of nothing will work, now shall your lordships know, that he who can do all these things is now arrived with you; now shall you well perceive that the enchanter is come to land, and will not fail to apply his whole power to work that which he can as cunningly handle as any man in Europe. This man hath from his youth been trained up in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Almain, and all other places where wisdom and experience are to be learned. He knoweth Scotland as well as the countryman. Our country is not unknown to him. He speaketh many tongues. He hath not been in these countries to learn the tongues only, but he hath so by experience and good judgment, bridled his own nature and affectioned passions wherewith this nation

of the council, and particularly Cecil, to whom he almost uniformly wrote a confidential communication when he sent his public dispatches, to be on their guard; assured them that however serious might be the proposals of De Sevre, they were intended merely to procure delay; that the hatred of the house of Guise to Elizabeth would never be removed; and that, amidst all their professions of friendship—amidst all their efforts to conciliate, they were conducting their warlike preparations with the most unremitting activity. He often stated that the peculiar situation in which the family of Guise were placed, rendered it doubly prudent in England to rise in her demands, or to require an absolute compliance with what she conceived requisite for her safety; that they were regarded by immense numbers with jealousy and detestation; that the relations which they had formed with other states had excited apprehensions for the tranquillity of France; and that if Elizabeth was not deluded by their insidious artifices, she had an opportunity of securing the most important interests of her people*.

is full fraught, that he is no more French, by outward shew, than he is Italian, no more Italian than Spaniard, no more Spaniard in pride than Dutch, nor seemeth to be more malicious nor suspicious than if he never dealt with any that are touched therewith. And as for sobriety, I need no otherwise describe him than he well sheweth. Having these things rare in this nation, he is, in my opinion, kept in store as a select vessel, to be employed in such time as this is, and to be alone maker of a dissembled friendship, and a soon broken peace." Forbes, p. 816, 817.

* See the various letters of Throkmorton to the queen, the lords

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His conversation with the Cardinal of Lorrain.

Throkmorton had indeed justly appreciated the policy of the French court. At the period of dispatching De Sevre, it was, for many reasons, of much importance to it, to slacken the exertions of England in favour of the Congregation; and accordingly, while the ambassador, agreeably to his instructions, was most sedulous at London, the cardinal of Lorrain, by the most pacific professions to the English minister at Paris, endeavoured to strengthen the representations which, with the most consummate address, were made to Elizabeth. In

Feb. 24th.

an interview which Throkmorton had with the cardinal, that artful prelate lamented that the queen of England had shewn a disposition to interrupt the good understanding which subsisted between her kingdom and France; a disposition which had become too evident from her great preparations on the borders, from her having sent a fleet to the Frith of Forth, which had actually attacked some French vessels, and from her intention of interfering to prevent the punishment of those Scotish nobles who had risen in rebellion against their lawful sovereign. He said that these indications of war filled his master with the greater astonishment, as he was most earnest to maintain inviolated the peace which had been so happily concluded; and that even still he was anxious to become acquainted

of the council, and Cecil, during the early part of 1560, as recorded by Dr Forbes in his Account of Public Transactions during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

with the grounds of complaint upon which Elizabeth proceeded, that he might if possible take away every difference, and give to her the most ample satisfaction. 1560.

Throkmorton, after representing the preparations on the borders merely as measures of precaution—after defending the Scotish lords from the charge of rebellion, and professing ignorance of the attack made by Winter upon the ships of France, stated to the cardinal, that his sovereign conceived herself injured by the king and queen of France, in their having assumed her arms and titles; and that she was the more disposed to view this with alarm, from the formidable army which they had sent to Scotland, and which was daily reinforced. Lorrain with much ingenuity replied to this representation. He declared that the troops had been sent to subdue men who had taken up arms against their sovereign, and who had refused even to receive the messengers who had been directed to treat with them. As to the assumption of the titles and arms of England, he professed not to have before known that this had been done; and he then endeavoured to shew that it did not amount to a breach of the treaty which subsisted between the two crowns, of course that it was no sufficient cause for the preparations of Elizabeth. After some reply from Throkmorton, the cardinal concluded the conversation by assuring him that his queen would obtain redress, and by requesting that he would transmit to Eng-

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land the substance of what had passed between them *. With this the English ambassador readily promised to comply; but sensible that, without some representation from himself, the language used by the cardinal might deceive the council, he sent a messenger in whom he confided to communicate his own sentiments. He wrote, at the same time, to the lords of the council, alluding to the harmony between the professions of Lorrain and the proposals of De Sevre, but explicitly re-asserting his conviction, that all these fawnings, as he expressed himself, were employed to persuade the queen and their lordships, that every thing would be amicably adjusted, while nothing was more remote from the intentions of the French ministers; that their sole view was procrastination, trusting that they would thus exhaust the patience and the finances of Elizabeth; and that, after she had desisted from levying troops, they would soon find an opportunity for prosecuting or effectuating their plans of ambition. He therefore strenuously advised that there should be no cessation of arms; and that the queen should complete every preparation which she had esteemed it wise to make †.

Impression made by the French ambassador in London.

De Sevre, in the mean time, had commenced his negotiations in London, and had succeeded in counteracting, to a considerable degree, the prejudice

* Throkmorton's letter to Elizabeth, dated at Amboise 27th February. Forbes, p. 554, &c.

† Forbes's Public Transactions, p. 548.

against him, which the representation of a statesman so profound as Throkmorton, could not fail to have excited. He assumed the language of the utmost moderation, palliated or defended with much delicacy and address the conduct of Mary in using the arms of England, ascribing it to the command of her father-in-law, and pressed for an explicit declaration, whether Elizabeth intended to make war upon France, or to espouse the cause of the rebels in Scotland. The queen, exhausted with the length of a conference, to which she had admitted him, and at which he pressed, in the most insinuating manner, these points, or perhaps, for a moment staggered by the eloquence of the French minister, did not explicitly deliver her sentiments, or rather spoke ambiguously respecting her intentions; for she afterwards thought it necessary, through Cecil, to address to De Sevre a much more full answer than she had personally given; a measure which she would not probably have adopted, had she, with her usual firmness, resisted the solicitations and arguments by which she had been assailed *.

In this paper she exposed the fallacy of De Sevre's reasoning respecting the arms, and vindicated the Scotish lords from the imputation of rebellion, which she anxiously embraced every occasion to do. The answer is dated the seventeenth of February; the conversation, therefore, most probably had taken

* Crawford's Collection of Papers respecting Scotland, Vol. I. p. 167—169. I have inserted the answer in Appendix, No. VI.

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place the day before; and in the course of it much had been discussed, for the length to which it had extended is mentioned as one reason why the queen had not spoken more at large upon the two important subjects with which it concluded.

It is certain that she was at this time impressed with the idea that France was sincere, or at least that there was a prospect of her attaining the ends which she had in view, without having recourse to hostilities; and accordingly, although she did not desist from her intention of entering into an alliance with the lords, she was resolved to proceed with the utmost caution, and not to embroil herself in war till every other method had failed.

Upon the receipt of Throkmorton's letters, communicating the purport of his conversation with the cardinal, an intimation was of course made to De Sevre of the pacific views of his sovereign. It is probable that he received private instructions about the same period, for he now more strenuously renewed his attempts to convince the queen that France was most earnest for an amicable arrangement; and he made a deep impression upon her mind. His proposals, indeed, were in the highest degree fair and liberal. He agreed that the queen of France should for ever renounce the arms and the title of queen of England; and when he was pressed with a requisition that the whole of the French troops should be sent out of Scotland, he acquiesced, with these slight and apparently rea-

sonable limitations, that a few companies should be left, and that a longer time for sending away the troops should be granted than that which had been proposed by Elizabeth. These concessions were transmitted to the English ambassador at Paris. He was at the same time informed, that, after the receipt of his dispatches of the twenty-seventh of February, the French minister had often been in conference with the queen and council, and that he had manifested a disposition to grant all things, both relating to Scotland and England, with the exceptions that the evacuation of Scotland should not be complete, and that it should not take place so soon as had been desired. Throkmorton was instructed to remonstrate against these demands; to insist that all which the queen had asked should be conceded *.

Elizabeth delays the junction of her army with the Congregation.

These letters were dated on the seventh of March. On the eighth of that month, Elizabeth wrote to the Duke of Norfolk, to inquire into the conduct of Winter, who had committed some hostilities of which she disapproved; and on the day after, she sent another letter, requiring him to intimate to the lords of Scotland, that her forces could not march into their country on the day which had been specified in the treaty. What the reason of this was she fully explained; and the explanation sufficiently proves that she was, when she gave it, more dis-

* Forbes's Account, p. 348—351.

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posed to yield to the intriguing Frenchman than to the caution and discernment of her own minister. "We have thought meet to let you understand with speed, that at this present we have received a message from the French king, tending in words to reform all the injuries done to us, and to make an accord with us for the same, and to leave Scotland free from danger of conquest; so for answer thereof we have given day to the French until the twentieth of this month, for a beginning to withdraw his force, and to the twenty-fourth for withdrawing a third part, and to the twenty-eighth for a half part, and to the second of April for the whole. Whereupon we see it meet that the appointment with the lords of Scotland be deferred from the twenty-fifth to the thirty-first *."

Norfolk was astonished at this delay, and he ventured, in his answer, to intimate that it would probably excite uneasiness or suspicion in the lords. This, however, was, in the estimation of Elizabeth, of little importance; she felt a deep interest in them only in so far as their success was connected with her own security; and she was therefore determined not to break off a negotiation by which that security might be easily and effectually obtained.

Representations of Throkmorton.

Throkmorton, apprehensive of the effect which might be produced at London by the art and hypo-

* Hayne's State Papers, Vol. I.—letter from the queen to Norfolk, dated March 9th, 1560.

crisy of the French ministers, embraced every opportunity of representing what were the real sentiments of France. He assured the queen, that notwithstanding the pacific professions which were so frequently made, warlike preparations had never for a moment been intermitted; and he soon detected, more completely if possible than he had previously done, the deceit of the court at which he resided. When, agreeably to his instructions, he informed the cardinal, that De Sevre had agreed that the arms and title of the English sovereign should be laid aside by the French queen, the prelate, without hesitation, asserted, that in this he had exceeded his powers; an assertion fully establishing what the recent appointment of Monluc, bishop of Valence, as ambassador to the English court, had led Throkmorton to suspect, that all the concessions of De Sevre were to be disavowed or qualified, and a new negotiation in fact to be commenced. By this artifice, it was hoped that the assistance intended by Elizabeth for the Scotch lords would be deferred till the result of the negotiation was known, and that, during this time, the French forces in Scotland would be able to encounter the allied army.

1560.

The cardinal, however, did not throw aside the mask. He listened attentively to the demands of Throkmorton, and with much affectation of candour, requested that he would commit these demands to writing, assuring him that he would soon receive a

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definite answer. Throkmorton, although not authorized to do this, readily complied; but instead of receiving the answer which he had been led to expect, he learnt that a courier had been secretly dispatched to London; and he was at length informed that the determination of the French king respecting the demands had been transmitted to the bishop of Valence, and that the whole matter would be discussed with the queen *.

Arival of the bishop of Valence in England.

Every step which was taken, might have convinced Elizabeth that she had nothing to hope from the friendly disposition of the French court. She listened, however, to the bishop of Valence, who idly attempted to persuade her that the conduct of Mary, in wearing the arms of England, arose from that queen's desire of expressing her esteem and reverence for the English sovereign; and even after she discovered that he was not furnished with sufficient powers to conclude a definite arrangement, she sent him into Scotland, instructing the Duke of Norfolk to escort him to Edinburgh, that he might endeavour, by his representations there, to close the wide breach which had now so long subsisted between the regent and the protestant nobility †.

* Letters from Throkmorton to the queen and lords, dated March 15th 1560, in Forbes's Transactions, from p. 360.

† Hayne's Collection of State Papers, Vol. I.—letter of the queen to Norfolk, dated March 30th. She mentions that Valence had arrived in London about thirteen days before. Camden's Annals, p. 30.

If the mind of Elizabeth was really in some degree influenced by the deceit of the French ministers, her council never lost sight of the designs which these men were sent to promote; and in a most able memorial addressed to the queen, they attempted to confirm her resolution immediately to commence hostilities. They began by mentioning the enmity which the queen of Scotland entertained against her—enmity, in which the king of France, from regard to his consort, participated; which was assiduously fostered by the house of Guise, and which might rationally be expected permanently to influence or direct the policy of France towards England. They collected the most striking expressions of its inveteracy; pointing out, that if it had not been for the intervention of circumstances which no human prudence could have created or arranged, Scotland would before have been completely subdued by France, and a most formidable military station for harassing England been secured. Presuming that these facts were incontrovertible, they represented that they had always thought it just, honourable, necessary, and in some degree profitable, that she should aid the people of Scotland in their efforts to assert the independence of their country. They had considered this conduct as just, because the ultimate object of the French forces plainly was to invade her own dominions—as honourable, because it was generous to relieve an oppressed kingdom—as necessary, because if France subdued Scotland, Eng-

1560. Memorial addressed by the council to Elizabeth. March 23d.

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land would be compelled to maintain, upon her northern frontier, a powerful army, and would be constantly exposed to invasion, the consequences of which would be most calamitous, and might be fatal,—as profitable, because at no period could security against these evils be so cheaply purchased.

After having most forcibly stated the reasons which should determine her to grant immediate assistance to the lords of the Congregation, they adverted to the objections which might be urged against what they so strenuously recommended. The chief of these were mistrust of the Scotch, and the danger of commencing a war. As to the fidelity of the Scotch to England, they said that little or no doubt of it could be entertained; because they had continued in their hostility to France: not only refusing offers of peace, but even declining to listen to the persons who proposed them; that they had in this cause shed their blood, and wasted their property; that they had given hostages to Elizabeth; and that the only mode by which they could be extricated from the difficulties by which they were encompassed, was by the strictest union with a power deeply interested to protect them.

Respecting the danger of commencing a war, the council acknowledged that they were abundantly sensible of it; but that they looked on it as a danger which it was impossible safely to avoid; that they would consider themselves as betraying the duty

which, as faithful advisers, they owed to her, if they recommended to her to rely upon the false and perfidious promises of France; and that it ought to be taken into view, that it was more prudent to meet a smaller danger than to be exposed to a greater. They delivered it as their opinion, that in order to shew her anxiety to preserve tranquillity, she should publickly declare that she had no intention of going to war with France; that she would not invade any of the dominions belonging to that country; that she would allow her subjects to engage in commerce with it; but that she was only desirous, from motives of self-preservation, to prevent a needless accumulation of French troops in the immediate vicinity of her kingdom—at a time, too, when the family of Guise had most openly asserted the right of their niece to sway the English sceptre. They concluded this interesting paper, by beseeching her majesty not to make any more delays in joining the Scotch army,—delays which, while they increased the expence of her government, could only tend to the advantage of the French, and of those Scotchmen who had united with them against the liberties of their country *.

I have given a full account of this petition, both because it displays the soundest views, and because it throws more light upon the disposition of Eliza-

* This interesting paper is entitled, the Council's Petition to the Queen, and is given at length from Cotton Library, Caligula, B. x. in Forbes's Public Transactions, p. 390—396.

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beth towards the lords of the Congregation, than all the writings of our historians.

1560. Effect of it.

Such a plain and energetic statement of their sentiments, from a council composed of men whose talents the admirable understanding of Elizabeth enabled her fully to appreciate, could not fail to have a great effect in determining her conduct; she began immediately to act upon it, issuing next day the manifesto respecting France, which she had been advised to address to the world *.

It cannot indeed be doubted, that she chose to appear as if she had been convinced by the arguments of the petition; for before it was composed, she had become disgusted at the procrastination of the French court. On the twenty-second, the council, certainly with her concurrence, had written to Norfolk, informing him that the delay which had taken place in dispatching his messenger, had arisen from the proceedings of France, tending to persuade and entice the queen to give over her warlike preparations; that the bishop of Valence had been sent to promote this object, but that his representations were so vain and unfounded, that it was evident that the real design of the French court was to gain time for completing their own preparations; and that it was therefore doubly important to her

March.

* Haynes's State Papers, Vol I. p. 268—270. The paper is entitled a Proclamation, declaring the queen-majesty's purpose to keep peace with France and Scotland, and to provide for the security of her kingdom. See Appendix, No. VII.

majesty to regain the time which, in listening to the propositions of France, had been unprofitably spent. They conveyed to the duke her majesty's determination, that Lord Grey should at the appointed time enter Scotland with her army; and, to extinguish the fears and the distrust which the protraction of the original period might have created, the queen sent with this dispatch the ratification of the treaty of Berwick, with instructions that it should immediately, upon receipt of the hostages, be delivered to the lords*.

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On the twenty-eighth of March, the English forces under Lord Grey marched into Scotland, to form a junction with the army of the Congregation. This army, in terms of the treaty, had assembled, and was advancing to the place which had been appointed. It was evidently the interest of both these parties to proceed now with the utmost expedition. But Elizabeth, notwithstanding the decisive tone which she had assumed, was again staggered by the artful conduct of Monluc. A week after the council had intimated to Norfolk the unsatisfactory nature of that prelate's communications, she wrote to the duke, commanding him to use every effort to avoid actual hostilities; to consult upon this subject not with military men, whose professional habits might incline them to war, but with Sir Ralph Sadler, in whose prudence and caution she placed

English army enter Scotland.

Irresolution of Elizabeth.

Mar. 29th.

* Haynes' Collection of State Papers, Vol. I. p. 267, 268.

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the greatest reliance, and to send him to Lord Grey, if that should be conceived to be necessary *.

This letter, so unlike what might have been expected from a princess of the acute penetration and strong mind of Elizabeth, establishes most clearly the dexterity of the French ministers, and confirms what has been already stated, that it was regard to her own interest which at first led her to assist the Congregation. Notwithstanding her solemn assurances to them—notwithstanding the tender concern which she had expressed for the preservation of their liberty and independence, it is plain that she would even at this time have abandoned them, could she have obtained her great object, the evacuation of Scotland by the French. This, indeed, could not have taken place, without materially benefiting the protestant lords; but still it would not have enabled them to secure that religious freedom for which they had so long contended. Had the queen-regent been left in possession of the reins of government,—had it been placed beyond a doubt that she would be supported by Elizabeth, or at least, that the lords could not expect from that princess any support, their adherents would have rapidly diminished, their own patience and property would have been exhausted, and Scotland, failing to emancipate itself from the shackles of Roman despotism, might still have been a stranger to the

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 272, 273.

blessings which, by breaking these shackles, it has so long enjoyed.

1560. Elizabeth wrote also to Lord Grey, enjoining him to follow the conduct which she had prescribed to Norfolk; and she added to this letter a postscript, which shews that, at the period of writing it, she had been induced to relinquish what she had represented as essential to peace, and what she had commanded her ambassador at Paris absolutely to require. I transcribe her words, because they throw much light upon the varying counsels which perplexed her ministers at the commencement of her alliance with the Scotish protestants.—"And where the bishop of Valence seemeth by his words to utter that the French will not desire to continue any more soldiers in Scotland, than such as hath been accorded before time between the Scotch and them, and as upon an accord now made with the Scotch they themselves shall think meet, our pleasure is, that consideration thereof should be had; and if the same shall not seem dangerous to Scotland, then we would wish that the purpose for expelling them all thence were qualified, and that the greatest number might be removed, and no more left than may seem to stand with the safety of the country from the danger of conquest, and regard had to the French king's honour, whom it may so much touch to remove all, that he shall be advised rather to adventure all *."

* Compare with this the letters of the queen and the lords of the

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1560. Interference of the King of Spain.

The negotiations between France and England were too important to escape the observation of the king of Spain, who was deeply interested in the issue; and he determined to interpose his good offices to prevent matters from proceeding to extremity. Throkmorton, with his usual activity, discovered this design of Philip, and ever watchful of his sovereign's interest, he was desirous that no erroneous information respecting her views and conduct might be transmitted to the Spanish monarch. To secure this, he addressed himself to Philip's ambassador at Paris, and communicated to him those proposals or demands of Elizabeth, which, at the request of the cardinal of Lorrain, had been committed to writing. This manly and open manner of proceeding made a deep impression upon the ambassador. He declared his conviction that the queen of England could not safely desire less than she had done, and that the court of France would act most unreasonably, if it refused to give her satisfaction. He

council to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, dated the 7th of March. In the letter from the council it is said, "as long as there shall remain any men of war in Scotland, so long shall that realm be out of freedom; and so being, discord will arise between them and the French, which will be a new occasion for them to augment their force, and so consequently enter into the same trade wherein now they be, which is so manifestly dangerous for this realm, as they may see by experience it cannot be endured.——We can never be persuaded that so long as any port or haven of Scotland be in the hands of men of war of France, especially while the French queen liveth, this realm shall be in surety, but always shall remain in expectation of the like to come again that hath now happened." Forbes, p. 349, 350.

at the same time informed Throkmorton, that De Glaion, who was to be dispatched to England, was a man of profound wisdom, and fully sensible of the importance of preserving peace between the low countries and England *.

De Glaion arrived in England about the beginning of April; and on the eighth of that month he made a declaration to one of the ministers of Elizabeth, that he had been sent by his master to be a mediator between her majesty and the French king; that he was desirous that the differences subsisting might be so adjusted, as that the safety of England might be secured, while the rebels in Scotland were punished; but finding that the queen's army had already marched into Scotland, and that he could not follow the tenor of his instructions, he requested that she would recal her troops, or that she would abstain from hostilities for forty or fifty days, till he could receive new orders how he was to act †.

Elizabeth had foreseen that Philip would interfere, and convinced that the French would use every artifice to inflame him against her,—sensible that the religious sentiments of the lords of the Congregation would excite indignation and horror in the gloomy and bigotted mind of the king of Spain, she

* Letter from Throkmorton to Elizabeth, dated 15th March, in Forbes, p. 960—969.

† Spanish ambassador's declaration to Sir Francis Knollys, dated April 8th, 1560, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 280, from a minute by Knollys, endorsed by Cecil.

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had sent Lord Montague and Sir Thomas Chamberlain to represent to him the motives by which she was influenced, and to alarm his fears or his jealousy, by assuring him that the ultimate object of the French court was to annex Scotland to the dominions of France*.

While these men were labouring to conciliate Philip, Cecil, in a most able and elegant Latin memorial, answered the declaration of De Glaion. In this answer the conduct of Elizabeth is justified, her forbearance is extolled, the impracticableness of a scheme which had been proposed by De Glaion, to unite with the troops of France in Scotland, some Spanish forces, which might prevent any attempt of the French upon England after the rebels were subdued, is demonstrated, and the real objects of the queen for acting as she had done, are explicitly avowed. This memorial seems to have satisfied the Spanish ambassador; indeed, it has been suspected that he was not averse to the schemes of Elizabeth with respect to Scotland; his master's antipathy to France having in some degree overcome the detestation with which he naturally regarded the Scotish lords, who, in his eyes, were guilty of what he esteemed the two greatest crimes which could disgrace human nature—heresy and rebellion †.

* Camden's Annals, p. 51. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. as last quoted.

† Forbes's Transactions, p. 402—410. Camden's Annals, p. 49, 50.

1560.

But although Elizabeth was too wise to recal her army, or to shackle it by restrictions which would have defeated the end for which it had been sent, she was still desirous to negotiate; and Lord Grey, the general of the army, was enjoined, before taking an active part, to endeavour to commence a treaty with the queen-regent, and to procure her consent to the propositions which he was to submit for her consideration *.

Grey enjoined to treat with the Queen-Dowager.

At the approach of the English forces, this princess resolved to leave her residence in Leith. She knew that it would be besieged by her enemies; and the impaired state of her health, occasioned or increased by much agitation and distress of mind, rendered her little able to submit to the privations, or to expose herself to the tumult and the hazard to which a severe contest would unavoidably give rise. She requested to be received into the castle of Edinburgh; and, on some of the first days of April, she was admitted by Lord Erskine, the governor. This nobleman, although rather inclined to embrace the principles and to promote the designs of the Congregation, had too much gallantry and generosity of sentiment to refuse an asylum to the mother of his sovereign. He had indeed uni-

She removes to Edinburgh Castle.

April 4th.

Camden does not seem to have known with certainty that the scheme mentioned in the text had been actually proposed, for he introduces it by saying, nec suspicione caruit, &c. The memorial of Cecil places the matter beyond a doubt.

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 275, 276.

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formly conducted himself with a degree of moderation and impartiality, which, in an age of faction and of civil war, reflect the highest honour upon his character, and which, contrary to what generally happens under such circumstances, had really gained the esteem of both the contending parties *.

Petition of the Lords.

The regent's retreat to the castle inspired the lords with some hope that she might still be persuaded to prevent those hostilities, the effects of which she viewed with apprehension; and although

4th or 5th of April.

they had deposed her from the regency, they addressed to her a letter, in which they implored that she would exert her influence to remove the French army. They declared that they had united with the English sovereign not from deficiency of loyalty to their own, but because they conceived this measure to be necessary for asserting the independence of their country; and they concluded with this striking and fervent request: "Most benign princess, we beseech you again and again, that, having considered the justice of our petition, the evils which must result from war, and the importance of peace to your daughter's troubled kingdom, you would willingly comply with our just prayers. If

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 322. Knox, B. iii. p. 223. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 144. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 521. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 211. Keith, B. i. ch. xi. p. 122. Spottiswoode says, that the regent went to the castle on the fourth of April; Lindsay, that she removed there on the first. She was certainly in the castle early on the 4th, or before it. Keith says, in general, that she was received in the beginning of April.

you do so, the remembrance of your moderation shall be perpetuated amongst all nations, and you will secure the peace of the greatest part of the Christian world." This letter, dated at Dalkeith, was sent to the regent; but the period of conciliation was past. She now regarded the men who subscribed it as guilty of rebellion; and whatever might have been her sentiments of the calamitous condition of Scotland, she could not overcome her reluctance to treat with those who, notwithstanding their professions of attachment, had combined against their lawful queen, and had united with the forces of her stern and dangerous rival *.

1560. Disregarded. April.

The English army, consisting of six thousand infantry, and nearly two thousand cavalry, having joined the army of the Congregation, it was, in consequence of much deliberation, resolved to besiege Leith, the chief station of the French troops. After a skirmish, in which both parties almost equally suffered, the siege was commenced. Lord Grey, however, did not neglect the commands of Elizabeth. Upon his approach to Edinburgh, he opened a communication with the queen-regent, and submitted to her the conditions upon which his sovereign would recal her army, and support the right of Mary to the obedience of her subjects. This was highly acceptable to the regent. Instruct-

* Buchanan. Lib xvi. p. 328, 329. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 144. He says that the letter was dated upon the 5th of April, which is not improbable.

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ed by the French court, she wished to procrastinate, and she met the propositions of Elizabeth with terms similar to those which had been specified to the English council *.

Anxiety of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth felt much anxiety about the result of this negotiation, and accounts of its progress were regularly transmitted to her. Sir George Howard, who had been employed to conduct it, was sent by the Duke of Norfolk to London; and it appears from a letter of Throkmorton to Cecil, who had transmitted to that minister at Paris the information from Scotland, that Howard, apprehensive of success, had probably urged compliance with the wishes of the regent †.

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 279.

† Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 145. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 522. Letter from Throkmorton to Cecil, dated from Amboise, April 28th, 1560, in Forbes. In this letter he says, "I do note also, that among yourselves ye be either divided or not united." He evidently was very suspicious of the accuracy of Howard's information; and he points out what method should be adopted to ascertain the true state of affairs in Scotland. He advises at all events to pay the utmost attention to the navy; and upon this subject he makes the following judicious observations, which, after the brilliant illustration of them by the events of modern times, must be perused with much interest, and with a high opinion of the soundness of his understanding. "In any wise, Mr Secretary, bend your force, credit, and device, to maintain and increase your navy by all the means you can possible; for in this time, considering all circumstances, it is the flower of England's garland. Animate and cherish as many as you can to serve by sea. Let them neither want good deeds nor good words. It is your best, and best cheap defence, and most redoubted of your enemies, and doubtful friends.—There are not so many perils in it as there is to depend upon fortresses, neither the charges be like. Surely it is so necessary at this time to increase it and preserve it, as rather than fail, immunities and privileges are to be

Apprehension of the lords.

The lords of the Congregation were soon filled with apprehension, in consequence of the frequent conferences which were held with the queen-mother. They very naturally dreaded that a peace might be concluded, in which their interests would not be sufficiently consulted; and the imprudent conduct of some of the agents of Elizabeth strengthened this impression. The effects resulting from want of cordiality, or from distrust, might have been in a short time most alarming, and it became, therefore, necessary to place beyond all doubt, that Elizabeth would firmly adhere to the cause of the Congregation. Accordingly, while the door of peace was not yet closed, she resolved to give to the lords the most explicit assurances of her cordiality, and to prosecute the siege with a degree of vigour, destroying every hope which the enemy, from the apparent listlessness or aversion to war on the part of the English, might have formed *.

granted to those that serve in that kind of service, even like as those wise and politic governors did grant prerogatives in England, to the plough and ploughmen long ago, when the realm was desolate and unlaboured." Sir George Howard had been sent to London about the 10th of April, with the articles which had been the ground of the treaty between the regent, the English, and the lords. His mission was not approved by Elizabeth, as appears by a letter from her to the Duke of Norfolk, when she communicated her resolutions respecting these articles. Throkmorton's letter sufficiently explains the cause of this dissatisfaction. Compare Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. with the correspondence in Forbes.

* See the correspondence between the Duke of Norfolk and the

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1560. Their last bond. April 27th.

It is not unlikely that the conduct of the English generals, and the suspicions excited by it, led to the last bond of association into which the lords entered; a bond by which they engaged to stand by each other, and, at the risk of every danger, to support the civil and religious liberties of their country *.

Earl of Huntly.

In this bond they were joined by the Earl of Huntly, who had of late become more favourable to them than he had formerly been. Holding one of the highest offices of the kingdom, he had long been steadily attached to the court, and had, by his counsels, even retarded or prevented the restoration of tranquillity. He certainly highly disapproved of the excesses of the reformers; and he had, not long before subscribing this agreement, saved from the intemperate zeal of the barons of the Mearns, the cathedral of Aberdeen, which, after overthrowing several religious houses, they had determined to destroy †. Perceiving, however, that the Congregation was gaining strength, or convinced that the deliverance of Scotland from the French was essential to its independence, he had opened a correspondence with England; and Cecil himself had written to confirm him in the resolution which he had now

queen and council during the month of April 1560, as detailed under that date in Haynes' Collection of State Papers, Vol. I.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 224—225.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 720, 721. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 194. Keith, B. i. ch. xi. p. 121.

formed, to assist, by his great influence, those measures which were alike beneficial for Scotland and England *.

Bishop of Valence ineffectually attempts to restore peace.

To the efforts of Elizabeth to procure peace, must be added those of the bishop of Valence, who, having received a passport for entering Scotland, left Berwick on the twentieth of April, and arrived at the English camp on the twenty-second. This prelate, who was invested with powers to make concessions and to restore harmony to the contending factions of Scotland, used all his eloquence and address to effectuate reconciliation; but as the lords, to whom, after spending some days with the regent, he addressed himself, insisted upon the complete evacuation of their country by the French, and upon its being governed in the absence of the sovereign by a council, nominated by her and by parliament, he returned to London without success †.

Combined army besiege Leith.

From this period all hope of amicable adjustment seems to have vanished, and both armies prepared to decide by the sword the fate of Scotland. Lord Grey was anxious to direct his first efforts against the castle of Edinburgh, that he might secure the person of the regent, whose intrigues, he justly

* See letter from Cecil to the Earl of Huntly, dated March 18th 1560. Haynes' Collection of State Papers, Vol. I. p. 226.

† Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 274 and 294. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 323. Keith, B. i. ch. xi. p. 124. Memorial to the queen-dowager in Crawford's Collection, Vol. I. p. 175, from Cotton Lib. Caligula, B. x.

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dreaded, would interpose every possible obstacle to the accomplishment of the designs of his own sovereign. As, however, the Duke of Norfolk disapproved of the scheme, and as that disapprobation, from respect to the queen-dowager, and from fear of disgusting the lords, bent upon the explusion of the French, had been sanctioned by Elizabeth, Grey directed his whole attention to the siege of Leith *. It is unnecessary minutely to detail the events which occurred while the siege was continued. The science of war was then little advanced, and in modern times, when, unfortunately for the happiness of the world, that science has, from experience, been carried so near to perfection, the injudicious attacks, the negligence and the inactivity which such a detail would exhibit, can afford no pleasure and no instruction †.

Elizabeth steadily supports the Congregation.

The final determination of Elizabeth not to desert the Congregation, left to De Sevre no prospect of accomplishing the purpose of his embassy. He was at length convinced that war was unavoidable; and, in the usual hypocritical style of diplomatic profession, he made a solemn protestation, that the calamities resulting from it were wholly to be attributed to the English government. This assertion was of course officially contradicted, and the charge retorted upon the French monarch ‡. Some time

April.

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. correspondence in April.

† Stowe's Annals, Buchanan, Knox, and Leslie may be consulted under this year for the particulars of the siege.

‡ Forbes's Public Transactions, p. 410. Camden's Annals, p. 50.

before the protestation, or upon the return of the bishop of Valence from Scotland, one effort more was made to gain the English queen. She was assured, that if she would recal her troops, Calais would be immediately restored. Desirous as she was to recover this place, she had too much magnanimity and too much policy to purchase it by sacrificing her allies, by degrading her own character, and by endangering the independence of her kingdom. She therefore, without hesitation, replied, that she would never put this insignificant fishing-town in the balance with the safety and the liberty of Britain *.

State of France.

But while the horrors of war thus threatened to spread misery through Scotland, and the freedom of that country appeared to depend upon the issue of a most bloody and expensive contest, there arose causes which inspired France with a sincere wish to preserve peace with England, and produced the resolution to sacrifice to the attainment of this object, those views upon Scotland which it had so long fondly and steadily contemplated.

The enormous expence of recruiting an army in a distant country, separated from France by a boisterous ocean; the hazard which attended the voyage; and the loss of many of their chosen troops by the inclemency of the season at which they were em-

* Camden, in his Annals, says, that this proposal was made on the same day upon which Grey entered Scotland. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 16.

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barked, or by the accidental tempests which scattered them, conspired with the embarrassed state of the finances to make a deep impression upon the counsellors of the French monarch. The hope, however, of securing Scotland, of gratifying the enmity which, amidst all their earnest and apparently candid professions, the secret dispatches of the family of Guise to the mother of Mary too plainly shew that they continued to entertain against Elizabeth; the prospect of exciting in England the violence of civil commotions, and even of placing the crown of that kingdom upon the head of the Scotish sovereign, might have counterbalanced these disadvantageous circumstances, and impelled to new efforts for extinguishing or punishing the rebellion which the protestant lords had excited. The state of the public mind in France presented, however, an obstacle to foreign exertions, which the ministers of that kingdom, with all their zeal and ambition, could not venture to disregard or to resist *.

The progress of the reformation in the French dominions had been beheld by the Duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorrain with the most poignant regret; and they had attempted to arrest it by the savage cruelty of unrelenting persecution. Such tyranny, when opposed to religious zeal, was regarded with the utmost detestation; and a conspiracy was

* For the secret dispatches to the regent of Scotland, see Forbes, p. 400, and Crawford's Collection of Papers from the Cotton Library, Vol. I. p. 175.

formed, to cut off a family so abhorred by all who valued liberty of conscience. This conspiracy burst forth at Amboise, in the spring of this year; and although the leaders of it were apprehended and punished, and the execution of it was thus for a season prevented, the agitation which remained was sufficient to excite the fears of the cardinal and his brother, and to induce them not to weaken, by foreign expeditions, that army which they might soon require for the preservation of their own power or safety *. 1560.

Laying aside the duplicity with which they had hitherto acted, the French council advised the king to grant a commission to the bishops of Valence and Amiens, in conjunction with La Brosse, authorizing them to use every method to extinguish the dissensions in Scotland; to offer pardon to those who were willing to submit; to meet with commissioners from Elizabeth, and to make with them such arrangements as should be judged calculated to advance the interest of all parties †. New instructions, still more explicit, were given at Chenonceau, on the second of May, to the bishops of Valence and Amiens, to La Brosse, D'Osell and Randan; these instructions were conveyed to Eng-

Effect of it.

April 1st.

Wish to negotiate.

* Interesting particulars respecting this conspiracy may be found in Throkmorton's correspondence, published by Forbes. An allusion to it may be seen in the memorial to the queen-regent, which has been quoted; and ample details of it are given in the Histories of France and of England.

† Public Transactions, by Forbes, p. 397.

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land by Randan, a man of rank, held in high estimation; and he was also the bearer of a letter from Francis to Elizabeth *.

Some reverses of fortune at Leith, and the persuasion that the court of France was sincere, so powerfully inclined the queen to seek peace, that the council could not resist her desire. That they might, however, secure all the objects of importance to England, and that no advantage in forming the treaty might be taken by the bishop of Valence, one of the ablest statesmen of his age, Cecil, was included amongst the English commissioners. Ample instructions were given to him, to Wotton, and to the other ambassadors who were sent to conduct the negotiations; and Cecil, guided by a sense of public duty, commenced his journey to the borders on the twenty-ninth of May †.

Cecil appointed one of the English commissioners.

June 10th. Death and character of the queen-regent.

Before his arrival in Scotland, the queen-dowager, worn out by anxiety and disease, expired at Edinburgh. It would be unjust to withhold from this illustrious princess the tribute which is due to her many public and private virtues. She was possessed of talents, which, in ordinary times, would have admirably qualified her for the prosperous administration of a kingdom; and the general line of policy

* Public Transactions, by Forbes, p. 319 and 442. Camden's Annals, p. 53. Keith, B. i. ch. xii. p. 180.

† Letter of Killigrew to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, in Forbes, p. 501.—See Appendix, No. VIII. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 319, 320. Camden's Annals, p. 53.

which, at the commencement of her regency, she resolved to follow, was calculated to disseminate amongst all classes of her subjects the most valuable political blessings. Directing her attention to the remote parts of Scotland, which had long been torn by faction, or rendered wretched by oppression, she established tranquillity, and extended to the inhabitants the protection of her government. Deeply impressed with the infinite importance of administering justice with steadiness and impartiality, she determined to use every effort for securing it; and notwithstanding the difficulties with which she had to struggle,—notwithstanding the haughty turbulence of nobles, who placed their greatness in superiority to law, she so far succeeded, as to meliorate the condition, and to gain the affections of the great part of the community.

Her conduct in domestic life increased the veneration with which she was regarded. Uncorrupted by her exalted condition, she was a pattern of temperance and moderation. Her household and her court were alike free from the frivolity and the vice by which royalty has too often contaminated the manners, and undermined the moral principles which it should have purified and preserved; while in her attention to the afflicted and the distressed, in her commiseration for the sufferings of her own sex, she exhibited the most amiable feelings, and the most condescending humanity.

Educated in the religion of Rome, and descend-

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ed from a family who gloried in their devoted attachment to the head of the church, the natural mildness of her disposition had preserved her from the intolerance which the peculiar circumstances of Christendom had then rather increased than diminished, and she long listened with much forbearance to those who had renounced the ancient faith.

Yet, with every requisite in herself for discharging with tenderness and with fidelity the most important duties of a sovereign, it was her misfortune to be under controul which defeated her wise intentions, and blasted every prospect of that national happiness, from which she would have derived the purest and the most elevated satisfaction. Surrounded by counsellors directed by the French court,—compelled in a great degree to obey the mandates of her brothers, whose intemperate zeal was never softened by compassion, she assumed the harshness of a bigot, and exercised the cruelty of a persecutor; she exhausted the patience and inflamed the passions of the majority of her subjects, till at length she kindled the flame of discord, and let loose the complicated horrors of civil war. The opposition of her own views to those which she finally adopted, rather heightened the antipathy which was fostered against her, because it marked her conduct with an inconsistency which was not unnaturally ascribed to deceit, and which banished that confidence and that respect, without

which there can be no esteem, and no permanent subjection. CHAP. XIV.

That she never had recourse to severity, except when she was acting contrary to her own inclinations, cannot however be asserted. The passions are often excited, even in supporting a cause which was at first viewed with abhorrence; and the personal insults with which she was loaded, the contempt which the lords of the Congregation too openly expressed, their suspension of her authority, and their alliance with Elizabeth, the rival, and, as she probably dreaded, the enemy of her daughter, occasionally excited the strongest feelings of resentment, overcame her desire to treat with men whom she no longer regarded as the honest champions of religious liberty, as conscientiously imploring that permission to worship God according to their principles, which is the first right of reasonable beings, but whom she detested, as having united to wrest from their youthful and absent sovereign the crown which her ancestors for ages had worn. 1560.

Under these impressions, she sometimes acted with a violence, with a severity and an hypocrisy, which cannot be excused, but which they who know the corrupting influence of political contention, will pity while they condemn.

As she drew near to the termination of her existence, the power which temporary causes exerted over her mind entirely ceased, and she appeared in the amiable and engaging light in which she had

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first been seen by the inhabitants of Scotland. Her dying scene must excite the tenderest interest, and may teach the most salutary lessons. She desired to speak with the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Marischal, and the prior of St Andrews. To these noblemen, the leaders of the Congregation, she expressed her grief for the calamities which had descended on the kingdom. She earnestly exhorted them to labour for the restoration of peace, to send both the French and English armies out of the country, to continue in their allegiance to their own sovereign, and not to renounce their ancient alliance with the monarchs of France.

Having thus delivered her sentiments respecting the nation, she turned to a more affecting subject. Bursting into tears, she asked pardon of all whom she had offended, freely forgave those who had in any way injured her, and then, embracing the nobles, who were deeply moved, she bade them farewell. Upon the verge of eternity, she lost, in the steady contemplation of hereafter, the religious prejudices to which she had adhered. She called for Willocks, one of the preachers attached to the reformation, and after professing to him that faith in the merits of her Redeemer, which sincere Christians of every denomination delight to cherish, she was gently removed from the world.

It is difficult, at this distance of time, to contemplate such a termination of life, without being in-

clined to pass lightly over her errors,—to believe in what she often said, that if she had been permitted to act agreeably to her own wishes, she would have composed all dissensions, and settled the kingdom in permanent tranquillity.

We cannot wonder, however, that the reformers, who had suffered under her regency, who had been compelled to submit to the most painful sacrifices, and had often trembled for the interesting cause in which they were engaged, should have dwelt chiefly upon the unfavourable side of the picture; should have considered her death as a blessing, and should have interpreted her actions with that want of charity, which civil or religious commotions so often occasion. Knox did not escape from the influence of this contracted spirit, which was in every respect so unworthy of him. He uniformly speaks of the regent, not only in a manner evidently betraying exaggeration of her defects, but inconsistent even with the dignity or the decency of historical composition. He seems delighted to record and to perpetuate all the malicious slander, from which, at such a period, the most exemplary could not have escaped; and although he mentions the conversation which, before her death, she had with Willocks, a conversation upon which he might have been expected to dwell with the most pious delight, he wishes to destroy the favourable impression which it was so much adapted to leave upon the minds of the people. Even in relating her death, when the

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unworthy spirit of party should surely have given place to more dignified and generous principles, he seizes the opportunity to vent his antipathy against her family, to calumniate the memory of her husband, and to insinuate the unfavourable sentiments which he entertained with regard to the character of Mary, her accomplished but unhappy daughter.

There is no greater evil resulting from religious contentions, than the deplorable effect which they produce upon the best feelings of our nature. They destroy that fair and candid temper, so congenial to the amiableness of youth, and which is essential not only to the discovery of truth, but to the peace of the individual, and to the happiness of society. They cast a veil over the virtues, and aggravate the vices, of all who are involved in them; in the expressive language of inspiration, they so darken and bewilder the understanding, that even the wisest call good evil and evil good. If a mind so superior as that of Knox could not emancipate itself from the prejudices into which, from this cause, he was betrayed, how universally must they have been disseminated, and how miserable must have been the condition of a country in which, by every event, they were confirmed and strengthened *?

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 824. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 526. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 146, 147. Knox, B. iii. p. 228, 229. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 307, 308. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 413. Camden's Annals, p. 53. Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 13. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 212. Keith, B. i. p. 127—130. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 29.

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH.

Commissioners meet at Newcastle....Resolve to proceed to Edinburgh....Preliminary arrangements at Berwick.... Different interests to be secured by the treaty....Arms of England to be renounced by the French Sovereigns ....Difficulty of including in the treaty the Lords of the Congregation....This difficulty removed....English Commissioners demand the confirmation of the treaty of Berwick....Threaten to break the conference....The matter adjusted....Glory and security of Elizabeth promoted by the treaty....Articles respecting Scotland....Remarks upon them....Loyalty of the Lords....Treaty advantageous to England....Article relating to religion....No express provision made for the Protestant faith....Reason of this....Reformation very widely embraced by the people....Nobles, from principle or from interest, disposed to embrace it....Lords considered it as sufficiently secured, by being referred to a free parliament....Peace proclaimed....Joy occasioned by it....Reflections.

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1560. June. Commissioners meet at Newcastle.

THE town of Newcastle having been chosen as the place for commencing the negotiations, the English and French commissioners met there on the eighth of June. It was soon found, however, that matters could not there be brought to a conclusion. The French ministers declared that they could not treat respecting Scotland, without con-

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sulting with the queen-regent, while Cecil and Wotton, having heard of the delicate state of her health, were not unwilling to remove to Edinburgh, imagining that the decease of that princess might incline Valence and Randan to accelerate the treaty, and being sensible, that at so great a distance from the scene of hostilities, much delay would unavoidably be occasioned. It was therefore resolved to proceed to Edinburgh; but some stay was made at Berwick to settle preliminary arrangements with regard to the mode of conducting the treaty, and to an armistice during the negotiation *.

Resolve to proceed to Edinburgh.

Preliminary arrangements at Berwick.

In the discussions to which these points gave rise, the French commissioners displayed so great an inclination to cavil and to procrastinate, that the patience of Cecil was almost exhausted; but having at length agreed, they reached Edinburgh about the middle of June, and seriously entered upon the important business which they were appointed to adjust †.

Different interests to be secured by the treaty.

In the treaty, two different interests were to be comprehended. The differences between the French and English courts were to be settled, while the rights and liberties of the lords of the Congregation were, without committing the honour of

* Instructions to Cecil, &c. in Forbes, p. 494. Letters of Cecil and Wotton to the council, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 324, 325.

† Letter of Cecil to Sir William Petre, dated from Berwick, 18th June 1560, in Haynes, Vol. I. p. 326, taken from the original.

Francis and Mary, to be secured *. These subjects, particularly the latter, could not fail to give rise to much discussion; and as the ablest statesmen in Europe were employed in the service of their respective sovereigns, we cannot wonder that the utmost ingenuity was shewn, and that every step proposed to be taken was minutely examined.

Arms of England to be renounced by the French sovereigns.

The French commissioners were not averse to renounce, on the part of the king and queen of France, the use of the arms and the title of the monarchs of England. They drew up a memorial, containing their proposals upon this subject, so interesting to Elizabeth, and little difficulty would have been experienced in adjusting it, had not that princess instructed Cecil to demand a compensation for the injury which she represented herself as having already sustained, by these arms and that title having been ever claimed and appropriated †. Even this, however, presented no insuperable obstacle to an amicable arrangement. The French were, from various causes, most anxious that the English troops should be removed from Scotland; and they therefore at length agreed, that the ques-

* Instructions in Forbes. Haynes' State Papers; correspondence of Cecil and Wotton with the council.

† Crawford's Collection of Papers, Vol. I. p. 182, 183, contains a copy of the offer made by the French ambassadors. Instructions to Cecil, in Forbes, compared with a letter of Sir Thomas Parry and Sir William Petre to Cecil, printed in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 326.

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tion of compensation should be reserved for future consideration *.

1560. Difficulty of including in the treaty the lords of the Congregation.

The greatest difficulty arose from the negotiations respecting the inhabitants of Scotland, who had embraced the reformation. The noblemen, who directed this part of the community, had uniformly been branded in France as guilty of rebellion; and the ambassadors of that nation urged, that it would not be consistent with the dignity of their sovereign and his queen to place themselves on a level with men, against whom they had denounced the most severe punishment. This, however, being merely a difficulty in form, was, by a very simple contrivance removed. It was determined that the lords should present to the commissioners a petition, comprehending all their demands, and that an article should be inserted in the treaty, binding the king and queen of France to confirm every concession of their ambassadors to the leaders of the Congregation †.

Removed.

English commissioners demand a confirmation of the treaty of Berwick.

The great object of Elizabeth, and of her Scotish allies, was to continue the connexion which had been formed between them by the treaty of Berwick; while the French were equally solicitous to dissolve that connexion, or at least not to give to it, on the part of the queen of Scotland, any sanction. When, therefore, Cecil and Wotton proposed that

* Haynes, Vol. I. p. 333.

† Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 17. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I.; correspondence respecting the treaty.

the treaty of Berwick should be recognized and confirmed, the bishop of Valence and Randan positively refused to comply with the demand. They declared, that they not only were destitute of authority to consent to this, but that they had even received express orders not to make to that treaty the slightest allusion. They offered, however, to insert a clause, by which the part of it relating to the preservation of the liberties of both the British kingdoms should be confirmed; but upon maturely considering the subject, they withdrew even this proposal. Cecil and Wotton remained inflexible, threatening to break off all conference, and to leave the country if this point were not conceded. Yet although they held this firm language, it is certain that Cecil had become very averse to the continuance of war. What he had seen in his journey, had produced or strengthened this aversion, and he resolved to make every effort, consistent with the safety and honour of England, to effectuate a peace. He had the satisfaction at length to succeed in carrying his object with regard to the treaty of Berwick. Perceiving that the great wish of the Commissioners was to preserve the dignity of their sovereigns, and to prevent a formal declaration that the concessions to the Congregation were made in consequence of their alliance with England, he with much dexterity framed an article, the language of which was most gratifying to the bishop and Ran-

Threaten to break the conference.

The matter adjusted.

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dan, while the substantial interests of the Congregation were most firmly secured *.

Cecil thus expresses himself upon this subject in a letter to Elizabeth: "It has been the most difficult thing in this treaty to obtain a covenant from the French king and queen to your majesty, to perform their promises to their subjects, for therein, as they say, their master's honour is more touched, than in any thing that could happen to him; for so the world shall say, that he is forced by your majesty thereto (as in truth he is, though it may not be said to Frenchmen); next the Scotch shall hereby owe all the favour, which they shall receive from their king and queen, to your majesty, as in truth also they do, though they may not say so to the French; and to make a cover for all this, those ambassadors were forced by us to take a few good words in a preface to the same article: and we, content with the kirnel, yielded to them the shell to play withall †."

By this prudent management, conjoined with the great anxiety which all parties felt to terminate the war, the treaty was at length concluded; and this

July 6th.

* See a very particular and interesting account of this part of the negotiation, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. from p. 335. I have inserted in the Appendix, No. IX. the various proposals which were made, and the article by Cecil, which was finally adopted.

† Letter from Secretary Cecil and Mr Wotton to the queen's majesty, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 362, 363, dated 6th of July 1560.

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Glory and security of, Elizabeth promoted by the treaty.

contest, the most interesting in which Scotland ever was engaged, was brought to an issue *. The glory and security of Elizabeth were thus eminently promoted.—She procured by the treaty the abjuration of claims, which, from the commencement of her reign, had been to her the source of much disquietude; which she knew were esteemed valid by a great part of her subjects, and which, at a future period, might have occasioned more trouble and hazard than could now ever arise from them, after having been solemnly renounced by the princess who alone could maintain them. She also delivered her kingdom from the imminent danger of invasion, with which, in every season of difficulty, it would have been assailed, had the French retained their footing in Scotland; while, by her generous and magnanimous conduct to the Scotish lords, she gained their affections, and rendered them partial to an alliance with England; thus establishing over their minds, and through them, over the government of Scotland, a more powerful influence than had been at any time possessed by its own sovereign.

The part of the treaty which respected the Congregation, must be more particularly detailed, because it laid the foundation for the establishment of the reformation, and because, without an intimate acquaintance with its leading provisions, it is im-

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 326.

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1560. Articles respecting Scotland.

possible to form just sentiments of the events by which it was succeeded.

The principal articles of the treaty evince the anxiety with which Elizabeth had watched over the interests of the lords,—the care with which she had provided against their being harassed for their preceding conduct, and the wisdom with which she had secured the future independence of their country.—After stipulating for the removal of the French troops, with the exception of a few who were to be left in the castle of Dunbar and of Inch-Keith, and who were to be subjected to the law of Scotland, the following most important stipulations were sanctioned by the negotiators: It was agreed, 1st, That an act of oblivion should be passed, for abolishing the memory of all injuries and wrongs, attempted or committed against the laws of the realm, from the sixth of March 1558 until the first of August 1560, which act should be ratified in the next parliament, and confirmed by the queen, with the consent of her husband. 2d, That a general peace and reconciliation should be made among the lords and subjects of the realm, so as that they who were called of the Congregation, and they who were not of the same, should bear no quarrel to each other for any thing done during the period above specified. 3d, That the king and queen should not pursue, revenge, or suffer to be revenged, any violence or injury which had been done since that time, nor should deprive or seek any pretext for depriving the subjects,

or any of them, of the benefices, houses, and estates which they have enjoyed before, they continuing to yield due obedience to their sovereigns. 4th, That to let it be known, that the king and queen are not willing to keep in remembrance any of the troubles which were past, the Duke of Chatelherault, and all other noblemen in Scotland, should be repossessed in their livings and benefices within France, after the manner that they enjoyed the same before the sixth of April 1558; and all capitulations in times past should be observed, as well on the part of their majesties as on that of the nobility and people of Scotland. 5th, That where any bishops, abbots, or churchmen alleged that they had received any injury in their persons or property, the same should be considered by the estates of parliament, and redress made according to reason; and in the meantime, that no man should prevent them from enjoying their revenues, or should do any hurt or violence to their persons; and if any should do contrary to this article, he should be pursued by the lords as a disturber of the commonwealth. 6th, That the estates of the realm should convene, and hold a parliament in the month of August next, for which a commission should be sent from the French king and the queen of Scotland; and that the said convention should be as lawful in all respects, as if the same had been ordained by the express command of their majesties; providing all tumults of war

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were discharged, and they who were entitled to be present might come without fear. 7th, That for the better government of the realm, choice should be made of a council, consisting of twelve worthy men of the kingdom, of which number the queen should choose seven, and the estates five; which twelve, in their majesties' absence, should take order with the affairs of government; and without their authority and consent, nothing should be done in the administration of public business. And that the said council shall convene as often as they may conveniently, but no fewer than six together; or if any matter of importance occurred, they should all be called, or the most of them, provided it should not be prejudicial to the king and queen, and to the rights of the crown. 8th, That the king and queen should neither make peace nor war without the counsel and advice of the estates, according to the custom of the country, as it was observed by their predecessors. 9th, That in time coming, the king and queen should depute no strangers in the administration of civil and common justice, nor bestow the offices of chancellor, treasurer, comptroller, and others of a similar nature, upon any except native subjects of the realm. 10th, That none of the lords of the nobility of Scotland should make convocation of men of war, except in ordinary cases, approved by the laws and the customs of the realm; nor should any of them cause foreign soldiers to come into the kingdom, much less attempt to do

any thing against the authority of the king or queen, or against the authority of the council and other magistrates of the realm; and in case any of them had occasion to take arms, the same being first communicated to the council, their majesties should likewise be made acquainted with this; and nothing should be done inconsistent with the duty of good and faithful subjects, loving the peace of their country, and desirous to live in obedience to their sovereigns. 11th, That the army of England should return home immediately after the embarking of the French, and that the Scotch army should then be disbanded and allowed to disperse. 12th, That for the articles concerning religion, presented on the part of the nobility and people of Scotland, upon the consideration of which the commissioners declined to enter, but referred to their majesties, a certain number of noblemen should be chosen in the next convention and parliament, to be sent to their majesties, to lay before them what might be thought necessary respecting this important subject*.

* Crawford's Collection of Papers respecting Scotland, Vol. I. p. 180—193, contains a copy of the treaty between England and France. Knox, B. iii. p. 299—304, gives the treaty upon the points presented to the commissioners, by way of petition from the lords and people of Scotland. These are different instruments, which have often been confounded by our historians. Some writers mention only the one, some solely the other. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XV. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 17, 18. Keith, B. i. ch. xii. has given an accurate account of the treaties. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 354—357.

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Remarks upon them.

These are the most material articles of this celebrated treaty, which may justly be considered as the foundation upon which the protestant church in Scotland was to be placed; and attention to them throws much light, not only on the views of the lords of the Congregation, but upon the state of opinion at the period of their being adopted. It is impossible to read them, without perceiving that the imputation of sedition and rebellion, which, in the

Letter of Cecil and Wotton to the queen of England, from an original, giving the substance of the treaty. In this letter it is expressly stated, "For government of the policy of this realm, the three estates shall choose twenty-four, out of which number the queen shall choose seven and the estates five, to make a council of twelve—without the greater of which number nothing shall be done for the policy; and if the estates shall find it needful to make the number fourteen, then the queen shall choose eight, and the estates six. This explains what will be seen in the copy of the treaty given by Knox. In that copy it is said, upon the petition presented anent the government, &c. it was agreed that twenty-four worthy men should be chosen by the three estates, out of which the queen should choose seven and the estates seventeen.—It is plain that Knox had forgot this part of the treaty. He recollected that the number, twenty-four, was to be chosen, that out of these seven were to be chosen by the queen; but it had escaped his recollection, that the number of the council was to be reduced to twelve, and that the estates were to appoint five of that council. If the whole twenty-four elected by the estates were to have composed the council, no choice would have been left to the queen. Keith accordingly has stated the article in conformity with what Cecil and Wotton say respecting it, and as their authority is unquestionable, I have been directed by it in the account which I have given. See also Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 328. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 628, 629. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 308, 309. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 147—149.—The archbishop has blended the two treaties. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 418. Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, Part ii. p. 127.

heat of party zeal, was fixed upon the reformers, and which many have continued to attach to them, is totally groundless. In framing the treaty indeed, the most particular attention was, no doubt, paid to secure the rights and liberties of the kingdom, to prevent the renewal of that influence which the lords had so long regarded with apprehension and with abhorrence. A council was appointed, which, supplying the place of a regent, was to act in the absence of the sovereign, and which might be expected, during that absence, to administer the affairs of the kingdom agreeably to the feelings and the wishes of the great part of the community. But amidst all this anxiety for the people, there is the most explicit avowal of loyalty. It is declared that the advantage of the crown should be anxiously promoted; that there was no intention to abridge its rights; and not one expression is used from which the slightest disposition to tumult and disregard of constitutional subordination can, with the least shadow of reason, be inferred. This was in harmony with the professions which the lords of the Congregation had constantly made to the regent, and which they repeated to Queen Elizabeth, who accordingly, as has been already mentioned, always maintained that they were not hostile to their lawful sovereign, and who, at this period at least, would not have formed an alliance with them, had she not been convinced that their speculative principles did not lead them to abjure a monarchial form of go-

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vernment. Even in her instructions to her ambassadors, she enjoined them to consult the honour of Francis and Mary; and with a view to prevent any appearance of their being compelled to grant what the treaty specified, the utmost attention was paid to the terms in which it was conceived.

Treaty advantageous to England.

But while the Congregation certainly wished to yield obedience to the queen—to live under her administration as good and dutiful subjects, the treaty directly tended to give to Elizabeth very powerful influence over the affairs of Scotland. All foreigners were interdicted from holding those great offices in which they might have given a direction to the sentiments and prejudices of the people. No regent could be sent from the French court to make new efforts against the independence of the country; and although both the armies of France and of England were to be withdrawn, the blow which was thus given to the French power was fatal, while the ability of Elizabeth to resist any opposition to those maxims which she considered as intimately connected with the prosperity of her own dominions, was not, in any material degree, lessened. There was only one exception to this general scheme of detaching Scotland from its ancient ally, by cutting off all communication with France, and that was the stipulation to restore to the Duke of Chatelherault, and the other nobles, their former possessions in that country. When this article was transmitted to Elizabeth, she at once perceived that

it might defeat the chief end for which the treaty was constructed; that the desire of retaining these possessions, or the hope of acquiring similar sources of emolument, would prove a powerful motive for listening to the representations of the French faction, and even for promoting the designs which, at any subsequent period, the court of France might be solicitous to carry into execution. She accordingly wrote to Cecil, trusting that it might be expunged, and stating the reasons for which she wished such an alteration to be made. "We cannot hide from you, that we cannot but mislike the desire of the Scotish lords to have still their entertainments and livings in France; which desire cannot but draw with it such further sequel as we fear may bring many of them hereafter, for fear of losing these livings, to depend more upon the French than shall be good either for the conservation of our league with them, or for their own surety *."

Several of the lords saw the same danger, and, with a most laudable disregard to their own interests, resolved to take measures to prevent any inhabitant of Scotland from receiving pensions or emoluments from France; but they could not prevail upon the duke to make the same sacrifice, and, from deference to him and his party, they were compelled to agree, that the restoration of the es-

* Letter from Elizabeth to Cecil and Wotton, dated July 8d 1560, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. copied from the original.

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tates should be inserted in the treaty *. Had not a change of circumstances soon taken place in France, it cannot be doubted, that all the evils which were apprehended would have followed from this concession; the foreign party in Scotland would have daily acquired strength, and a new contest might have been necessary for securing the freedom of that ancient kingdom.

Article relating to religion.

But the most remarkable part of the treaty is that which respects religion. When we trace the progress of this eventful contest—when we recollect the suspicion with which the lords of the Congregation listened to the promises so frequently made to them, that they should enjoy liberty of conscience—when we read the declarations which they published, that they had taken up arms chiefly to acquire religious freedom, we might naturally be disposed to believe, that in a treaty which was regarded as the termination of dissension, the most express provision for the establishment, at least for the toleration, of the protestant faith, would have been considered as so essential, that any vagueness upon this point would at once have concluded the attempt to negotiate. Yet there is certainly no such provision; there is even a liberality and an attention shewn to the ministers of the ancient religion, which however praise-worthy, might have been expected to follow, not to precede stipulations in fa-

No express provision made for the protestant faith.

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 336.

vour of the tenets of the reformation. The bishops and abbots were restored to their property, their persons were protected, and their most important privilege, that of sitting in parliament, was not wrested from them. But in relation to the peculiar sentiments of the reformers, there is nothing but one general article, alluding to a determination of the commissioners not to enter upon the subject of religion. By that article, the sacred cause for which they had so long struggled, was trusted to the effect of such representations as might, after the meeting of parliament, be presented to a bigotted court, and to a sovereign devoted to the see of Rome *.

Yet so far was this from creating any uneasiness to the lords, that they were in the highest degree satisfied with the treaty, considering themselves as saved by it from civil and spiritual bondage. So strong and unequivocal was the expression of their feelings, that Cecil and Wotton did not hesitate to inform Elizabeth, that, by the part which she had taken in forwarding the agreement, she would procure the conquest of Scotland, which none of her progenitors had obtained, the whole hearts and good will of the people, and nobility of this land; which surely, as they most justly add, is better

* Letter of Cecil and Wotton to the English queen, dated July 9th, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 353. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 649. Copies of the treaty in Knox, &c.

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for England than the revenue of the Scotish Crown *.

1560. Reason of this.

That the zeal of the lords and their adherents had not decayed, the proceedings in the ensuing parliament clearly shew. We may therefore, without hesitation, conclude, that they looked upon the treaty, as gaining all which they were desirous to possess. This, however, they could not have done, had not the attachment to the protestant faith become so general, as to place it beyond a doubt that the free voice of parliament would positively demand that this faith should become the religion of Scotland.—And this was really the fact. The great body of the people had long been inclined to the reformation. They were gratified by the zeal and assiduity of the new preachers; they were delighted with the knowledge which these men imparted to them; they felt the sympathetic fervour of religious zeal; and the effect of it was increased by the

Reformation widely embraced by the people.

* Letter from Cecil and Wotton to the queen, dated 8th of July 1560, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 354—357. In a letter to Sir William Petre, on the 8th, they wrote, "as for our part, we think the treaty will prove very honourable for the queen's majesty, profitable for her realm, and commodious for the liberty of Scotland, which the Scots do so well perceive, as they do acknowledge themselves perpetually bound to the queen's majesty for this inestimable benefit." In a letter to the queen herself, dated on the sixth, they resume this subject, and observe, "as for the security and liberty of Scotland, we have been means to obtain all things requisite, so as that the nobility here acknowledge the realm more bounden to your majesty than to their sovereign." Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 349—351.

striking contrast between the decent conscientious demeanour of the protestant clergy, and the ignorance, the sloth, and the scandalous depravity of the priesthood. Shrinking from the recollection of those scenes of horror and of cruelty, which had agonized their feelings, and entailed deserved infamy on the persecutors who had viewed them with complacency, associating with these scenes the influence of the French in Scotland, they beheld, in the ascendancy of the reformed faith, a protection against the most grating oppression—a bulwark in defence of their principles, which the efforts of tyranny would be unable to subvert. CHAP. XV. 1560.

The more numerous part of the nobles, though from different motives, were equally eager for the introduction of a protestant establishment. That some of them looked on this interesting revolution as connected with the wide dissemination of principles of pure religion, cannot be doubted, and on this account they gave to it their unwearied support; but too many of them promoted it chiefly from secular views. They saw that, by giving power to its votaries, they would undermine the foundations of the church, and that thus annihilating the necessity or the propriety of munificently supporting the popish clergy, the enormous wealth which had been appropriated to this purpose, would receive a different destination, and might be seized by those of their own number who were most artful or most active in getting it into their possession. Th. Nobles from principle or interest disposed to support it.

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effect of avarice, which the duke long before had pointed out as the surest auxiliary of religious innovation, began from this period to be strikingly apparent. We shall soon trace its influence upon the councils and decisions of parliament, and the still more marked consequences which resulted from it, with regard to the situation, the provision, and the comfort of the ministers of the new establishment.

Lords considered it as sufficiently secured by being referred to a free parliament.

Such being the state of the public mind, all which was necessary for securing the expression of it was, permission to assemble a free parliament—permission which could not be enjoyed while the country was overawed by a French army, but which the removal of that army at once bestowed. The lords, therefore, justly considered the treaty as putting it in their power to execute the schemes upon which they had so long dwelt; and when the petitions which they had presented respecting religion, were disregarded or avoided by the commissioners, they did not on this account insist that the conclusion of peace should be delayed, assured that they would have such a decisive majority in parliament, as would render vain any attempt to establish, in its former vigour, the ancient system of ecclesiastical policy *. All points having been finally arranged

* From the passages which have been already quoted out of the correspondence of Cecil and Wotton, it is apparent, that they considered the treaty as most favourable to Elizabeth, and as calculated to attach to her interest the chief men in Scotland. The passage which

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by the commissioners, the treaty was formally signed by them, in name of their respective sovereigns, and peace was proclaimed in Leith, and in the camps of the English and Scotish armies *.

Peace proclaimed. July 7th.

The proclamation diffused the most sincere joy amongst all classes in Scotland, and was not less acceptable to the troops of France and of England. The Scotch had now for a considerable time experienced all the horrors and misery of a civil war; and independently of the feelings excited by regard to religious principles, they looked forward with

Joy occasioned by it.

I am now to transcribe confirms this, while it shews that the commissioners could not enter upon the subject of religion. It also contains a very striking testimony, from Cecil, to the sincerity of the first reformers in Scotland, and a plain insinuation, that he considered them as having approached more nearly to purity of religion than the reformers in England. In a letter to Elizabeth, dated on the 6th of July, from the camp before Leith, her two ambassadors inform her, "two things have been too hot for the French to meddle withal, and therefore they be passed over, and left as they found them. The first is the matter of religion, which is here as freely, and rather more earnestly, as I the secretary think, received, than in England; a hard thing now to alter as it is planted. The second is, the accord between your majesty and Scotland remaineth in the same state that it was, and being motioned by the French ambassadors to have it dissolved, the Scots would not accord. These two things we think will much offend the French, and how they will hereafter stand we know not, but we be well contented to leave them as we found them; and yet if the said treaty shall not remain in force, the special points tending to keep Frenchmen out of Scotland, and such lyke, be well and assuredly provided for." Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 352.

* Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 354. Some historians mention the 8th as the day upon which peace was proclaimed, but Cecil and Wotton's authority is unquestionable.

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delight to the tranquillity and to the prosperity of peace. The English army, worn out with a tedious siege, gladly saw the termination of this lingering service; while the French, who had been compelled to submit to severe hardships, and had relinquished all hope of obtaining relief, saw, in this event, the return of plenty, and the certainty of being speedily conveyed to their own country *.

No time was lost in carrying the most important articles of the treaty into execution. On the fifteenth of July the French army, accompanied by the archbishop of Glasgow and Lord Seaton, embarked in vessels, which, to prevent delay, had been furnished by England. On the sixteenth the forces of Elizabeth broke up their encampment, and, attended by Cecil and Wotton, commenced their march to Berwick. Many of the lords of the Congregation expressed their gratitude to their allies by escorting them, and the prior of St Andrews did not leave them till they had reached their own territories †.

The great body of the Congregation, agreeably to the sentiments by which they had been actuated, assembled, three days after, in the church of St Giles, and, with the most fervent emotions of thanksgiving, lifted their hearts in devotion to that Almighty Being

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 296.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 284. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 296. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 509. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 149. Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 598. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 809.

to whose mercy they attributed the termination of hostilities—the commencement of the avowed prevalence of the protestant faith *. Such was the conclusion of a contest, which involved in its issue the most valuable rights and privileges of the inhabitants of Scotland, which happily brought to them the blessings of civil and religious liberty, but which, at one time, threatened to subject them and their posterity to the oppression of the sternest despotism. When we reflect upon the state of the Congregation at the period when the struggle commenced, composed of men little accustomed to military discipline, and little qualified to endure the hardships to which they had to submit; when we remember that they were opposed not only by the energy of government, but by a regular foreign army, which the court of France had the inclination, and seemed to have the power, to increase; when we take into view the dangers which almost overwhelmed them, their sudden recovery from consternation and despair, the circumstances which disposed Elizabeth to assist them, and which prevented the French monarch from directing against them the resources of his vast empire; when we finally contemplate that combination of causes which, in the end, so decidedly inclined all parties to peace; whatever may be our impressions of the zeal of the Scotish reformers, of the abilities or the defects

* Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 13.

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of the leaders by whom they were directed, we must discern, in the progress and termination of the war, the merciful interposition of providence; and may not unreasonably be led to the consolatory reflection, that, however the cause of truth may for wise ends occasionally suffer—however formidable may be the obstacles which oppose its advancement, it is under the protection of Him who can bend the passions of men, and guide the fate of empires; that there is a gradual approach to a more enlightened state of society, when the condition of the human race will be improved, their sentiments elevated, the atrocity of their vices diminished or annihilated; when there will be exhibited upon earth, that virtue, and that happiness, which the ardour of benevolence has sometimes conceived, and which have been predicted in the dark, though infallible, oracles of divine wisdom.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH.

Progress of the Reformation....Meeting of Parliament.... Question respecting its legality....Reasonings upon the question....Lords of the Articles chosen....Complaint of the Clergy....Parliament considers the state of religion....Representation of the Protestants....Different views of that representation....Confession of faith presented; Sanctioned....Silence of the Bishops....Their reasons....Confession opposed by some of the temporal Lords....Supported by Earl Marischal....Other acts relating to religion....Remarks upon them....Objections to these proceedings....Answer to the objections....It is resolved to submit the proceedings to the Queen....Embassy to Elizabeth....Match proposed to her....Rejected....Embassy of Sir James Sandilands to the Court of France....His reception at that Court....Dismay of the Protestants in Scotland....Death of the French King....Arrangements for disseminating and inculcating the reformed faith....Book of Discipline....Disputations between the Popish and Protestant teachers.... Different manner in which these have been described.

THE departure of the French and English armies was followed by a season of tranquillity, during which justice was regularly administered, and the

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inhabitants of Scotland enjoyed those blessings of peace of which they had so long been deprived *.

Progress of the reformation.

The supporters of the reformed faith lost no time in adopting measures for regularly and openly inculcating the doctrines to which they were attached. The most eminent ministers were distributed through the principal towns, while a few were appointed as superintendents to regulate ecclesiastical affairs in the provinces assigned to them, and to assist in confirming the people in their reverence for the protestant religion †.

Meeting of parliament.

The attention of all classes of men was naturally and anxiously directed to the parliament which was to assemble on the tenth of July, but which was not to commence its deliberations till the beginning of August ‡. The council summoned to it all who by law or custom were in the practice of voting in that assembly, or entitled to vote in it; and although, from religious or political motives, some of the most considerable men of the country did not appear, it was very numerously attended; several Popish prelates took their seats, and some of the clergy, who had embraced the principles of the reformation, availed themselves of the privilege of sitting

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 326. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 213.

† Knox, B. ii. p. 256. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 140. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 151.

‡ Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 353. In the copies of the treaty, the month of August, the time at which the deliberations of parliament were to commence, is mentioned as the beginning of that assembly.

in parliament, which, as holding dignities in the established church, had belonged to them.* Parliament had no sooner assembled, than a question respecting its legality was keenly agitated. The king and queen, although they had bound themselves to fulfil whatever was conceded in the treaty, had granted to no one a commission to represent them; and it was urged, that without a representative of the royal person, there could be no parliament. To this it was satisfactorily answered, that the present parliament was constituted in a very peculiar manner. It was not an assembly called together without the knowledge of the sovereign, but it was held in consequence of a most solemn agreement, executed by the ambassadors of the king and queen; sanctioned not only by their promise to ratify whatever these ambassadors should approve,

August. Question respecting its legality.

Reasonings upon the question.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 236, 237. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 140. Keith has given, from the Cotton Library, a particular list of the members, from which it appears that this was the most numerous assembly of the estates which had ever been convened in Scotland, and he uses this as an argument to invalidate its authority. Nothing, however, can be more fallacious. He does not pretend that the persons who assembled were not entitled to be present, he only observes, that as the lesser barons had not for many years been in the practice of attending, they ought not upon this occasion to have deviated from the custom, which had been in some degree sanctioned. But it does not follow, that because they had saved themselves the trouble and expence of coming to parliament, when there was little of importance to be transacted, they forfeited their title to assist at deliberations deeply affecting the political and religious state of the country. His observation, that this conduct of the lesser barons ought to be construed into a mark of disrespect to their sovereign, requires no answer.

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but by the actual execution of some of the most important articles of the treaty, in which the agreement was inserted. In virtue of the treaty, the French and English armies had been withdrawn; in virtue of it peace had been restored; but if that part of it, narrating the convocation of parliament, and fixing the time of its meeting, should be called in question, recourse must be had to the sword, because there was in fact no treaty, or no security for its fulfilment *.

During the interval between the tenth of July and the first of August, some communication seems to have taken place between Francis and Mary, and those who conducted the government in Scotland. From this circumstance it has been inferred, that the treaty only authorized the meeting of parliament upon the tenth of July, but left it to be decided by the sovereign, whether it should again assemble; that consequently, as no signification of the queen's pleasure upon the subject had been received from France, the parliament ought to have dissolved †. No reasoning can be conceived more obviously inconclusive. Had the intention of the plenipotentiaries been to leave it to the determination of the king and queen whether a parliament

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 149. Keith, B. i. ch. xii. p. 148. Caledonia, Vol. II. p. 6[illegible]. See remarks upon this part of that work at the end of the Appendix.

† Keith, B. i. ch. xii. p. 148, argues very keenly against the legality of this parliament. It is remarkable, that Leslie does not make this objection to it. See Lib. x. p. 529.

should be held for deliberation upon the affairs of the nation, this would have been plainly expressed; or if it had been judged expedient to name a day for its convocation, under the condition, however, of adjourning till a warrant for its proceeding to act was issued by the queen, no day for its re-assembling could possibly have been specified.

But it is impossible to read the treaty, and to take into view the state of parties at the time of its being concluded, without perceiving that the supposition upon which the objection rests is totally unfounded. The great object, at least one great object of the English ministers, was to promote the views of the Congregation. The lords very wisely insisted that an act of oblivion should be passed; and it was agreed that this should be done in the parliament alluded to by the treaty. But if it was uncertain whether such a parliament was to exist, at any rate was to act, all this was a delusion; it was appearing to grant what was required, while nothing in fact was granted; and we must conceive that Cecil and Wotton, two of the ablest negotiators in Europe, thoroughly acquainted with the disposition of the French court, and who uniformly professed to be much pleased that they had so effectually assisted and protected the protestants, had been deprived of common sense, if we believe that they allowed such an article to be imposed on them by the French commissioners.

There is, however, positive proof, that a very dif-

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ferent reason from the one which has been assigned led to the adjournment of parliament, from the day first mentioned to a subsequent one. Cecil and Wotton, in the account which they gave to Elizabeth of the treaty, positively assert, that the parliament was to be prorogued from the tenth to the twentieth day of July, the day originally intended for its reassembling, because the land could not well be cleared of all men of war before that time*.

Thus is it apparent, that the validity of the parliament was created by the treaty; that by the signature of the bishop of Valence and Randan, in the name and by the authority of Francis and Mary, these sovereigns gave to that assembly a constitutional existence, which could not be affected by any subsequent determination; that however much it was to be regretted that the countenance of the king and queen was not, in the usual manner, given to it, this circumstance could not have justified the members in refusing to consider the situation of their country, and to apply the remedies which that situation so much required.

The arguments upon both sides of this interesting question must have been very fully discussed in parliament, for eight days elapsed before the point was decided. At the end of that period the question was put to the vote, and happily for Scot-

* Letter of Cecil and Wotton to Elizabeth, July 8th, in Haynes' State Papers, Vol. I. p. 354—357.

land, the majority found that their assembly was legally constituted. As, however, the queen was not present, the ceremonies of carrying the sceptre and crown, which implied that presence, were of course omitted*.

Lords of the Articles chosen.

Having thus removed the preliminary objection against their proceeding at all, the Lords of the Articles were chosen. A certain number from every estate composed the committee distinguished by this title; and as the election from the clergy fell upon such of that body as were attached to the reformation, this was considered as a decisive proof of the temper and views of the majority of those who composed the parliament†. The bishops, who

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 149. Knox, B. iii. p. 255, 256. Keith, B. i. p. 148, 149. Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 466.

† In the Scotch parliaments, the lords of the Articles were vested with great powers, indeed, without their previous approbation, no bills or proposals could be submitted to parliament. Their numbers, and probably the mode in which they were elected, varied at different times; but it is probable, that at the period of which I write, the practice with respect to both these was the same with that which was sanctioned by a parliament held under Charles I. and afterwards confirmed in the first parliament of his son. For the information of those who have not directed their attention to the subject, I shall insert the leading provisions of the act passed in the time of Charles II. entitled, "An Act anent the way and manner of election of the Lords of the Articles, 18th June 1660. The which day the Earl of Rothes, his majesty's commissioner, represented to the estates of parliament, that it was his majesty's pleasure that, in the constitution of parliaments and choosing Lords of the Articles at this session, and in all time coming, the same form and order should be kept which had been used before these late troubles, especially in the parliament holden in the year 1633. And the manner of election of the Lords of the Ar-

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1560. Complaint of the clergy.

remained faithful to the established religion, discerned the danger with which they were threatened, and they loudly complained that they had been excluded from a situation of influence, which they had usually held, to make room for men whom they reprobated as guilty of apostasy *.

ticles at that time being now seen and considered be the estates of parliament, they did with all humble duty acquiesce in his majesty's gracious pleasure, thus signified unto them; and in prosecution thereof, the clergy retired to the exchequer chamber, and the nobility to the inner-house of the session, (the barons and burgesses keeping their places in the parliament house). The clergy made choice of eight noblemen to be on the Articles, and the nobility made choice of eight bishops, which being done, the clergy and nobility met together in the inner exchequer house, and having shewn their elections to others, the persons elected, at least so many of them as were present, stayed together in that room, whilst all others removed, and they jointly made choice of eight barons and eight commissioners of burrows, and then represented the whole elections to his majesty's commissioner, who being satisfied therewith, did then with the clergy and nobility return to the parliament house, where the list of the eight bishops, eight noblemen, eight barons, and eight burgesses being read, it was approven. And his majesty's commissioner did add to the list the officers of state, and appointed the lord chancellor to be president in the meetings of the Lords of the Articles, who are to proceed in discharge of their trust in preparing of laws, acts, overtures, and ordering all things remitted to them by the parliament, and in doing every thing else, which, by the law and practice of the kingdom belonged, or were proper to be done by the Lords of Articles in any time bygone."—See laws and acts of parliament, collected by Sir Thomas Murray of Glendook, also Keith, B. i. ch. xii. in a note to p. 149. and Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 467. It will be at once perceived that this mode of electing the Lords of Articles, gave to the crown immense influence over the deliberations of parliaments; in fact prevented any thing contrary to the inclination of the sovereign from being discussed in these assemblies.

* Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 149, 150. Keith, B. i. ch. xii. p. 148.

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1560. Parliament considers the state of religion.

All the necessary arrangements having been made, the attention of parliament was immediately solicited to the state of religion. A number of the most zealous adherents of the reformation had, before the meeting of parliament, drawn up a representation of what they conceived necessary to be done for strengthening the efficacy of the reformed faith. This representation or petition, they took the earliest opportunity to present, and there existed, with respect to it, much diversity of sentiment. Aiming, as it certainly did, at a complete revolution in the ecclesiastical policy of the kingdom, many shrunk from so radical a change; while one part of it, requiring that the patrimony of the church should be appropriated for the support of the protestant ministers, the provision of schools, and the maintenance of the poor, was most offensive to the nobles, who, in the course of the late troubles, and of the devastations which, in consequence of them, took place, had got possession of a large share of that patrimony, and were determined not to relinquish it*. The decided majority, however, being protestants, the supplication, so far as it related to doctrine, was maturely weighed; and some of the barons, in conjunction with the most eminent preachers, were enjoined to compose a summary of those tenets which they wished parliament to sanction, as constituting the essence of the reformed religion.

Different views of it.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 239. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 150. Collier, Vol. II. p. 467. For the supplication see Appendix, No. X.

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The persons selected had undoubtedly prepared themselves for this work, which, to men suitably impressed with the great importance of diffidence and caution in religious investigations, might have appeared most arduous; for in four days they produced a confession, embracing a number of subjects, delivering, as the unquestionable dictates of inspiration, opinions upon many of the most intricate speculative points to which the faculties of the human mind can be directed*.

Confession of faith presented. Aug. 17th.

It might naturally be supposed, that such a confession would give rise to very long discussions; but this was not the case. After having been presented to the Lords of the Articles, it was publickly read in parliament, and it was adopted with as little hesitation as if it had been a collection of intuitive truths. No questions were asked, no explanations were sought, no time was given for trying it by the test of reason, or comparing it with Scripture. An act was at once passed, by which it was solemnly pronounced to be the standard of protestant belief in Scotland†.

Sanctioned.

There cannot be a more decisive proof of the determined resolution of this parliament to support the [illegible] of the preachers whom they revered;

* Knox, B. iii. p. 289. Spottiswoode, p. 150. Calderwood's History, p. 14. Keith, p. 149.

† Knox, B. iii. p. 268. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 150. Calderwood, p. 14. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 414. Keith, p. 149.

and this in part explains, although it does not sufficiently excuse, the remarkable circumstance, that neither the archbishop of St Andrews, who had shewn himself to be considerably conversant with theological studies, nor any of the Popish prelates declared against it. They probably were convinced that opposition was vain; that it might exasperate but could not convince; that it might even convert into persecutors the very men who, a little before, had so piously and with so much energy exposed the enormity of persecution *.

Silence of the bishops.

Reasons of this.

This, however, was not the only motive which induced them to be silent. Many of the abbots were inclined to yield to the torrent of public opinion, by the promise that their abbeys would be converted into temporal lordships, which they might be permitted to retain; and the bishops were meditating upon a scheme for enriching their families—for most of them had families—by leases and alienations of the estates of the church. To sanction these, they applied to the pope, representing to him that this use of the wealth of the priesthood was necessary for acquiring friends to support his authority; and thus deceiving him, they extorted from him an approbation of what he had reprobated in England as impiety and sacrilege †.

* Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 414. The bishop mentions that he had seen many of the bulls authorizing these alienations.

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1560. Opposed by some of the temporal lords.

Of the temporal peers, the Earl of Atholl, the Lords Somerville and Borthwick, alone had the resolution to vote against the confession; but probably little accustomed to disputation, and not desirous to encounter the protestant ministers, who would have delighted to display their ingenuity and their zeal in defending their doctrines, these noblemen merely stated, that they wished to believe as their fathers had done before *.

Supported by the Earl Marischal.

The Earl Marischal with much force supported the confession, and in doing so he alluded, with the most poignant severity, to the silence of the bishops. "It is long," he declared, "since I had some favour for truth, and some suspicion of the papistical religion; but I thank God, this day hath fully determined me in the one and the other: for seeing that my lords bishops here present, who from their learning can, and from that zeal which they should bear to the truth, would reply to whatever was in direct opposition to the word of God,—seeing that they say nothing against the doctrine which has been proposed, I cannot but hold it to be the very truth of God, and the contrary to be delusive doctrine †."

* Knox, p. 283. Spottiswoode, p. 150. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 414. Collier, Vol. II. p. 467, 469.

† Knox, as last quoted, has given the speech of the earl at considerable length. Spottiswoode, ib. See Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation in England, Part ii. p. 128. In a letter written by the archbishop of St Andrews to the archbishop of Glasgow, then in France, and which has been published by Keith in his Appendix, the former

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1560. Aug. 23d and 24th. Other acts respecting religion.

Having thus commenced the attack against the ancient religion, parliament renewed their efforts for its destruction. They passed three other acts, agreeably to the supplication which had been addressed to them. By the first of these acts, they

prelate, speaking of the confession, says, that it passed without much resistance, except three bishops, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and the third he adds, I need not mention, evidently alluding to himself. Notwithstanding this testimony, I am inclined to believe in the accuracy of all our historians, who assert that none of the bishops declared against the confession; and I should suppose that the archbishop here alluded either to efforts made out of parliament to oppose its being enacted, or to the inclination felt to oppose it. The speech of the Earl Marischal strongly confirms this. Had the primate and other two bishops spoken in defence of their faith, the foundation of his argument would have been destroyed. Perhaps the three prelates gave a silent vote. In this letter it is also said that Atholl was not present, and here too the writer differs from the historians; but the matter is of little moment. There is in the letter a striking passage, which shews how powerfully the judgments of men are influenced by the situation in which they are placed. Speaking of the inclination which the protestant party had manifested to support their principles by force, the primate most justly remarks, "but it micht be sufficient to ony that wold be of this new opinion, to use their awin conscience with thair sell, and nocht cummir uthers to host thame or banisch thame the cuntrie without thai do sic lyk." How great is the change which adversity had produced upon the archbishop. He now appears as the advocate of forbearance and toleration, using language which carries conviction to every unprejudiced mind; but unfortunately he did not regulate his own conduct by it, in the day of his power. Had he acted upon this maxim in the case of Mill,—had he, instead of condemning the aged martyr to the flames, allowed him in peace to adhere to his faith, he would have prevented one of the foulest stains upon his character as a man and a minister of religion; and the enlightened liberal sentiment which he here avows, would have entitled him to the respect and the veneration of succeeding ages. The sentiment, however, must be ascribed more to situation than to change of

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abolished the power and jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland; by the second they repealed all the acts in favour of the church; and by the third they ordained, that all who said mass, or were present at the celebration of it, should be punished for the first offence by confiscation of goods, or bodily suffering, for the second by banishment from the kingdom, and for the third by death*.

Remarks upon them.

Over this statute every friend to true religion, to the influence of the mild spirit of Christianity, and to the sacred rights of men, would wish to cast a veil. It too plainly shews, that the worst part of popery had not been taken from the hearts of those who so vehemently opposed it; that while they declaimed against the infallibility of popish decrees, and considered these decrees as imposing a grievous yoke upon the understandings and the faith of Christians, they wished to break this yoke only that it might be succeeded by one which they themselves had prepared. They thus arrogated a right to decide upon what the fundamental maxim of the protestant religion declared should be left

principle. There is too much reason to believe, that, had he again been able to direct the sword of the civil magistrate, he would not have returned it to the scabbard, but would have directed it against men whom he would have viewed as the enemies of religion, and the fomenters of rebellion.

* Knox, B. iii. p. 254, 255. He mentions only the acts against the mass and the jurisdiction of the pope, but the other is mentioned by Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 150. Keith, p. 150, 151. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 414. Collier, Vol. II. p. 468. Calderwood, p. 14. Acts of first parliament of James VI. when these statutes were re-enacted.

to the decision of all who examined it; and they justified, in as far as similar conduct could justify it, the atrocious cruelty of the priesthood to those unhappy men who had been convicted of heretical pollution.

There is something in the tendency which all sects have shewn to draw the sword of persecution most humbling and disgraceful to human nature. What could have been so naturally expected from those who had recently mourned over the dismal scenes of ecclesiastical tyranny, than that they should shew their abhorrence of them, by disclaiming the principle from which they originated? Yet, with their own sorrows still pressing on their recollection, they prepared to wound the peace, and to embitter the lives of their fellow-creatures, not for the commission of crimes, which a regard to justice compelled them to punish; but because using the same privilege which the reformers had demanded, they adopted religious sentiments, different from those which these reformers proclaimed as the only sentiments taught or authorized by the Christian religion *.

Such were the acts of this celebrated parliament, by which, without wresting from the priesthood their dignities and their revenues, it produced or confirmed a revolution in the sentiments of the people, and paved the way for that ecclesiastical

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 408.

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establishment, by which the popish church in Scotland was soon subverted.

1560. Objections to these proceedings.

Against these proceedings, it has been objected by many who do not dispute the validity of the parliament, that it far exceeded what, by the treaty, the estates were permitted to do; that they were by it only authorized to send deputies to the king and queen, to represent what was thought needful for the interests of religion, and that therefore, instead of sanctioning positive laws, parliament ought to have submitted a memorial to the sovereigns, proposing that such laws should be adopted.

Answer to them.

But whatever inference may be deduced from the letter of the treaty, it cannot be doubted that the lords of the Congregation understood that it conferred on them a full right to enter upon the freest discussions with regard to religion. Had it been otherwise, they would, in the moment of victory, have acquired less than the regent had repeatedly offered to concede to them. Cecil imagined, that the vagueness of the article about religion, would occasion much dissatisfaction in France. This opinion must have rested upon his conviction, that the lords would take occasion from it to establish their peculiar views; a conviction produced probably by the unreserved communication which he had with the Scotish nobles. At all events, the treaty permitted parliament to name commissioners, to instruct these commissioners to submit, for the information of the queen, what ought to be done

to regulate the faith of her subjects, and certainly the most constitutional mode of doing this, was to frame such acts as it wished to become the law of the realm, and to present these for the royal sanction. It was the duty of the great assembly of the nation—a duty which no treaty could cancel, to preserve the peace of the kingdom; which could be done only by adverting most particularly to that cause by which peace had been interrupted. Had parliament, therefore, dissolved without taking some decisive measures, the protestants would have considered themselves as betrayed, and new calamities would soon have desolated Scotland.

If after all it must be admitted, that the parliament did not adhere to the precise mode of settling the affairs of religion, which was pointed out by the treaty, it should be recollected, that there are times when the forms commonly observed, in conducting the business of a government, cannot be retained without defeating the very ends for which they had been devised, and that the period at which the nobles and barons of Scotland now assembled, was one of these times; that the first object which they had to accomplish, was to heal the wounds of the state; and that they were entitled to take every measure for effectuating this object, consistent with the respect which they owed to the constitutional rights and privileges of the crown. Upon these they shewed no disposition to encroach, for they determined to send their acts to their sovereign, and

Resolve to submit their acts to the queen.

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most earnestly to solicit, that from her concern for the happiness of her kingdom, she would confirm them by her authority *. They were not indeed sanguine in their hopes of success; they knew the principles in which she had been educated; they had experienced the strength of that influence which her uncles exerted over her mind; and they did not hesitate to express their apprehensions, that she would not ratify what was so hostile to the faith which she had been taught to revere †.

Embassy to Elizabeth.

The Earls of Morton and Glencairn, with Maitland of Lethington, were appointed by parliament to repair to the court of England, that, in the name of the Scotish nation, they might express to Elizabeth gratitude for her support and protection, and that they might propose to her a scheme from which they hoped that both the nations of Britain would derive essential advantage.—They were enjoined to request of the queen, that she would consent to unite herself in marriage with the Earl of Arran, who, failing issue of Mary, was the nearest heir to the crown of Scotland ‡. An order of parliament upon this delicate subject was subscribed by the archbishop of St Andrews, the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway,

Match proposed to her.

* Keith, B. i. ch. xii. p. 150. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 262, 263.

† Knox, p. 255. Spottiswoode, p. 150. Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 326. Calderwood, p. 24. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 138.

‡ Leslie, Lib. x. p. 529, 530. Knox, B. iii. p. 257. Camden's Annals, p. 54.

Dunblane, Argyll, and several more of the Popish clergy. This shews, that notwithstanding their religious principles, they expected more good to their country from an English alliance than from a connexion with France, and certainly vindicates the movers of this scheme from the imputation which has been cast on them, that they intended to transfer the crown from Mary to Elizabeth *.

Rejected

Although Elizabeth had determined not to enter rashly into the matrimonial state, and although she could have little or no inducement to accede to the request of the Scotish parliament, she received the ambassadors with the utmost kindness; expressed her happiness that the assistance which she had given had been so useful to their country; and declared her resolution to renew that assistance, if at any future period it should be required. The proposal of marriage, she professed to consider as indicating the desire of the estates to knit in amity the two British nations; and while she declined agreeing to it, she spake in the most flattering and gratifying terms of the Earl of Arran. She concluded by advising them to avoid all faction and discord, and by promising that nothing should be wanting on her part to secure the defence of both the realms against a foreign enemy †.

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation in England, Vol. III. In the collection of papers subjoined to this volume is a copy of the order of Parliament. Keith, B. i. ch. ii. p. 155.

† Burnet, Vol. III. History and Appendix. Keith, as last quoted.

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Before the dissolution of parliament, many acts of inferior importance were passed; and in terms of the treaty, twenty-four noblemen and gentlemen were named, from whom the twelve to be invested with the administration of government, in the absence of the queen, were to be selected *.

Embassy of Sir James Sandilands to the court of France.

Sir James Sandilands, Lord St John, a knight of Malta, who had taken no active part in the late dissensions, and who, upon this account, was delicately chosen as the most proper person who could be selected, was sent as ambassador to the court of France. He was authorized to lay before the king and queen the proceedings of parliament; to present the list of those from whom the regency was to be formed, that their majesties might nominate from it the proportion specified in the treaty; and he was particularly enjoined to use every method to conciliate the queen; to incline her to regard with a favourable eye her subjects in Scotland; to restore that harmony among all classes of the community, from which alone the prosperity of her kingdom could result †.

* Keith, B. i. ch. xii. p. 152. Grainger's Continuation of Maitland's Hist. of Scotland, p. 930. The twenty-four were, the Duke, the Earls of Arran, Huntly, Argyll, Glencairn, Morton, Atholl, Monteith, Marischal, and Rothes, the prior of St Andrews, Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, Ogilvie, St John, and the master of Maxwell, Barons or Lairds Pittarrow, Lundy, Dun, Cuninghame-head, Drumlanrig, and young Maitland of Lethington.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 326. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 150. Keith, B. ii. p. 154.

Upon his arrival at Paris, he found that the apprehensions entertained in Scotland, respecting the intentions of Francis and Mary, were not without foundation. The family of Guise had now defeated the attempts of their enemies, and had again begun to shew their abhorrence of heresy, by taking the most awful vengeance upon those who were accused of it. Guided by their pernicious counsels, the king and queen had resolved not to ratify the treaty, into which Valence and Randan, by their express instructions, had entered. The great object in forming it was gained. The English forces were removed from Scotland; the French army was rescued from its perilous situation; the fear of internal convulsion was dissipated; and the purpose was therefore resumed of embracing the first opportunity to punish the lords of the Congregation, who were still detested as having rebelled against their sovereign. 1560.

His reception.

Such were the views of the French court, when Sir James Sandilands attempted to execute the design of his embassy. His reception at once shewed him that he had undertaken an office most offensive to the king and queen. The cardinal of Lorrain loaded him with reproach; accused him of violating his sacred obligations as a knight of a holy order, by consenting to be the bearer of the propositions of execrable heretics; and notwithstanding all his efforts to sooth the prelate,—notwithstanding the most assiduous endeavours to recommend himself to the

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queen, and to ascertain her intentions, he was dismissed without an answer *.

1560. Dismay of the protestant party.

The intelligence of his having failed in his exertions, which he soon transmitted to Scotland, spread consternation amongst the friends of the reformation. They dreaded that they would again have to defend themselves against the power of France; and not having received any intimation respecting their embassy to the English court, they were not without fear that Elizabeth, who had complained of the sacrifices which she had already made to promote their cause, might be reluctant so soon to renew the expence, and to expose herself to the danger of hostilities with a most formidable enemy †.

Death of the French king. Dec. 4.

This alarm, however, was unexpectedy dissipated by an unforeseen event, which had a very powerful effect upon the situation of Scotland. The king of France, after a short illness, died in the seventeenth year of his age; and Mary, deprived of her husband, soon found that she would be compelled to rest upon the support and the affections of her own subjects ‡.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 327. Spottiswoode, B. iii. p. 150. Keith, p. 154. Knox, alluding to this embassy, says, with more than his usual forbearance, "how the Lord of St John was entreated we list not to rehearse." p. 255. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. VI. p. 144.

† Knox, B. iii. p. 237, 258. Spottiswoode, p. 151. Keith, p. 154.

‡ Buchanan, Lib. xvii. p. 327. Camden's Annals, p. 60. Knox, p. 259, compared with Keith, p. 157. Spottiswoode, p. 151. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 414.

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During the interval which elapsed between the dissolution of parliament and the death of this monarch, the council in Scotland directed their attention to ecclesiastical arrangements, and were anxious to devise a scheme for disseminating and enforcing the doctrines contained in the confession sanctioned by the estates. As the most effectual method of accomplishing this, they requested those ministers who were most eminent for their talents, and were held in the highest reverence by the people, to frame a model for the administration of the church. They engaged in this interesting work with zeal moderated by caution; and, directed by Knox, who suggested the leading ideas which, in his estimation, should be adopted, they produced the first book of discipline; a striking monument of the abilities, the views, and the principles of the men by whom it was composed *.

1560. Arrangements for disseminating and inculcating the reformed faith.

Book of discipline.

Although this book has been printed in the form in which it was proposed for the sanction of the civil power, yet the substance of it is very far from

* Knox, B. iii. p. 256. The committee employed to draw in a volume, as Knox expresses it, the policy and discipline of the kirk, consisted of John Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews, John Spottiswoode, father of the archbishop, John Douglas rector of St Andrews, John Rew, and Knox himself. Spottiswoode, p. 174, mentions that it was the work of Knox, which must mean that he was much consulted in framing it. Calderwood's History, p. 24. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 159. Keith, B. iii. p. 491, 492, who gives an extract from a manuscript copy of Spottiswoode's History, in full confirmation of the statement given in this work.

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being generally known; and as full light cannot be cast upon the commencement of the protestant establishment, upon the progress which that establishment made, and upon the various forms which it assumed, without an examination of this system of policy, I shall endeavour to analyze it; to state the general principles upon which it rests; and to estimate the effects which it was calculated to produce upon the religious, the moral, and the intellectual state of Scotland. This illustration, so essential to an accurate and useful history of the reformation, will naturally succeed some observations upon the standard of faith which the reformers erected; and the two next chapters, devoted to these subjects, will present a picture of the great men who so strenuously supported the civil and religious emancipation of their country, which it will be difficult to contemplate without a considerable degree of wonder and admiration.

Disputations between the popish and protestant preachers.

But while government thus sought to carry on the interesting work of the reformation which parliament had so decisively commenced, they did not altogether overlook the adherents of the ancient religion. Induced by candour, by curiosity, or by the conviction that they would thus more firmly establish the truth of their own opinions, they invited the most able supporters of popery to come to Edinburgh, for the purpose of disputing with the preachers, and of defending the tenets which they had shewn themselves determined not to relinquish.

Numbers readily accepted the invitation. Amongst these the most eminent were Anderson, the sub-principal of the university of Aberdeen, and John Leslie, afterwards bishop of Ross, the intelligent historian of Scotland, and the zealous defender of the unfortunate Mary. 1560.

Different manners in which these have been described.

The disputes terminated as all similar disputes have done: neither party destroying the previous conviction of the other; but it is amusing to read the different accounts of the manner in which they were conducted. The protestant writers not only boast of victory, but depreciate the talents and the reasonings of their opponents. They represent them as having been struck with amazement at those arguments which, though they resisted, they could not answer; and even the bishop of Ross, of whose excellent understanding no doubt can now be entertained, we are told, declined the contest, or was unable, even by the speciousness of sophistry, to maintain the cause in which he was so deeply interested *.

Leslie himself, however, has given in his history a very opposite representation. He mentions the conference between Anderson, and Knox assisted by Willock; and he declares that Anderson defended his faith with so much learning, piety, and closeness of argument, that he confirmed those who believed, and confounded the abettors of heresy; that

* Knox, B. iii. p. 261, 269.

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to such a degree were they perplexed and stumbled, that they never again ventured to encounter the catholics, but testified their indignation at the defeat which they had sustained, by compelling those who had conquered them to attend the sermons of the ministers, as if, Leslie adds, the crude effusions of such men could make any impression upon persons who not only could not be converted by the arguments which had been addressed to them, but who, in the estimation of all endowed with common sense, had a decided superiority in the dispute *.

Unluckily, his zeal for his friend and his religion prevented him from being sufficiently guarded in these assertions; for, a little after, he records more disputations between the catholics and the protestants, although he uniformly expatiates upon the overpowering reasoning of the former.—But why, if they were thus superior in argument, did their faith rapidly yield to the new system? He saw the difficulty, and he attempted to remove it; but the attempt does not strengthen the representation which he had before given, for he admits, that there existed a carelessness amongst the established clergy in the highest degree culpable, and with much fairness acknowledges, that the ignorance in which these clergy kept the people, rendered them

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 530.

too much exposed to be captivated by what was announced as divine truth, and was recommended with a plausibility, and an eloquence, which their untutored minds could not resist. CHAP. XVI. 1560.

CHAPTER SEVENTEENTH.

Confession of Faith....Reasons for composing it....Examination of it....It contrasts the Popish and Protestant systems....It inculcates pure morality....Reformers unjustly depreciated....Their sentiments respecting the true Church; Respecting Sacraments; Respecting Government....Admit, upon this subject, a dangerous maxim.... Enforce obedience to Magistrates upon just principles.... Do not insist much upon mysterious points....Questions respecting religious establishments.

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WHEN the reformation was first introduced into Scotland, the progress which had been made in the discovery of divine truth was very inconsiderable. The popish system had for ages been implicitly received; and even after the imperfection of several parts of it had been exposed, an idea long prevailed, that although it required to be freed from some corruptions which contaminated it, the general doctrines which it inculcated were unquestionably the doctrines of Christianity.

But when additional light was poured upon the minds of men,—when the study of the Scriptures became prevalent, the enormity of papal superstition was more distinctly discerned, and the desire

of overthrowing or eradicating it was more widely and more strongly felt. To effectuate this, it was determined to contrast with it the opinions and principles which the reformers had embraced, by collecting their tenets, and presenting them under one striking point of view. Hence the origin of confessions of faith in the protestant church was nearly similar to that of creeds in the earliest periods of Christianity. Before any one could be considered as converted from popery, it was requisite that he should have renounced his former errors; and this could be ascertained only by his solemnly declaring what he now conceived to be founded on the word of God.

Confession of faith.

Reasons for composing it.

Had no particular standard been adopted,—had every man been left to pursue his own speculations, the reformation would have expired soon after its commencement. The people, not accustomed to reasoning, and not qualified to weigh the arguments which would have been addressed to them, would have been bewildered by varying or opposite tenets,—would either have been driven into the hopelessness of infidelity, or been disposed to reunite themselves to a church which professed to point out, with the confidence of infallibility, what ought to be believed.

As the number of protestants increased in Scotland, the opposition which they had to encounter became more formidable. They were thus compelled to make a common cause against their ene-

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mies,—to restrain all propensity to differ among themselves, least, in their anxiety to press their peculiar sentiments, to render of importance frivolous distinctions, they should endanger those great principles which they had united to support. It thus happened that the ministers, who had devoted their talents to religious inquiries, were regarded with the utmost reverence, as the oracles of divine wisdom. Their sentiments were by all esteemed as the pure truths of revelation; so that, while they announced to mankind deliverance from spiritual tyranny and from the yoke of implicit faith, they in fact only transferred from the priesthood to themselves the submission of the faithful.

There was, however, a radical difference in two cases. It was part of the popish religion,—indeed that part of it which had, for some centuries, been most anxiously inculcated—that it was the duty of the laity to submit in matters of belief to the direction of their spiritual guides; that all who violated this duty were guilty of the most pestilent heresy, exposed themselves to such punishment as the church might inflict in this world, and to eternal punishment in the next. The reformation struck at the root of this dangerous and depressing doctrine. It recognized the word of God as the rule of faith; it taught that all ought to search it; and although this maxim was not at first reduced to practice, because it required the previous cultivation and expansion of the human mind,—although

the protestant ministers, from this accidental circumstance led the public opinion, still this influence could only be temporary; freedom of inquiry was interwoven with the protestant religion, and that freedom was soon claimed and was duly valued.

As, however, the preachers had acquired much respect, as they had been accustomed to witness the most cordial acquiescence in what they taught, we cannot wonder that, when the day of trial was past, they were unwilling to resign so gratifying a distinction; that they were eager to see the prevalence of their principles; that they requested that the opinions which had grown with the reformation, which by numberless associations were endeared to their countrymen, should be digested in a form rendering them accessible to all, and establishing a visible barrier between those who had forsaken the church and the friends of the popish worship.

But there was another reason which confirmed the protestants in their resolution to compose a confession, and which justified them in doing so. Although, from a happy combination of causes, they had risen from the lowest depression to the possession of the most marked influence over the measures of parliament, the power of the church was far from being annihilated. They had every reason to apprehend that it would soon display its energy, and that, strengthened by the support which the queen would extend to it, it might prevail upon

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1560. Examination of it.

numbers to desert the profession of the reformed faith. The best security against this was, to give a plain illustration of the superiority of that faith above the ancient superstition; to shew that it was in harmony with the inspired writings, which were now believed to have been given for the direction of Christians. Under the circumstances, then, in which the reformers were placed, it was wise to frame a confession of faith; and the confession presented to parliament, although it expresses antipathy to the pope, and to the theological tenets which flowed from him, is admirably adapted to promote the great end of all religion, to enforce the obligation of piety and virtue.

Contrasts the popish and protestant systems.

The first feature which must strike all who examine it, is the accuracy with which the difference between popery and the protestant religion is pointed out. The church of Rome early perceived the importance of inculcating that salvation might be procured by the exertions of those who laboured to attain it; and although it never expressly denied the efficacy of the merits and intercession of Christ, yet its doctrine of works of supererogation was certainly calculated to exalt the power of the church, and to give a very erroneous view of the moral condition of man. Upon this part of the popish scheme some of the worst abuses rested; those abuses which first excited the horror of Christendom, and gave rise to that opposition which terminated in the reformation.

The protestants attacked a principle, which it was so obvious that neither reason nor experience could establish. They not only clearly laid down the great doctrine, that man was insufficient to accomplish his own salvation, but some of them in their anxiety to avoid one extreme, ran to another, and taught what at least seemed to imply the total subversion of morality. In the Scotish confession, however, this subject is treated with the utmost precision, and with a calmness, a moderation, and an exemption from enthusiasm, reproving the errors which, even in our days, are too widely disseminated. It assumes, indeed, the corruption of human nature—the inability of man to continue in the uninterrupted practice of what is good; but far from perverting these principles to the gratification of spiritual pride—to the destruction of proper regard for the divine law, it with much energy declares, "that it is blasphemy to affirm that Christ Jesus dwells in the hearts of those in whom there is no spirit of sanctification." Instead of resting the evidence of sincere attachment to the gospel upon feelings and emotions which often originate from some peculiarity of bodily constitution, from sympathy or from weakness, and which have no necessary connexion with the amiableness of a virtuous character, it affirms, "that all workers of iniquity are destitute of true faith; that they who triumph over sin, are, in the true sense, the disciples of Jesus."

Inculcates pure morality.

The delineation of the duty of a Christian is in

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the highest degree just and impressive. Rejecting the oblations, the penances, the pilgrimages, and the mortifications which were so sedulously enforced upon the laity by the catholic priesthood, it observes, "that the holy law of God consists of two tables, the one relating to the Deity, the other to our fellow creatures, and to ourselves. To have one God, to worship and honour him, to call upon him in all our troubles, to reverence his awful name, to hear his word, to believe it, to partake of the sacraments; these are the works of the first table."—"To honour father, mother, princes, rulers, and superior powers, to love them, to support them, to obey their charges, when these are not inconsistent with the divine commandments, to save the lives of the innocent, to repress tyranny, to defend the oppressed, to live in temperance and sobriety, to deal justly with all men both in word and deed, and finally to root out all desire to hurt our neighbour; these are the good works of the second table, which are most pleasing and acceptable unto God *."

When we compare this manly enlightened representation of duty with the ignorance or perversion of moral truth to which it succeeded, we must per-

* Knox, in the third book of his History, has inserted the confession at full length. It may also be seen in Calderwood, and in the acts of the first parliament of James VI. Some remarks upon it, not very profound, are made by Collier, in the 2d Vol. of his Ecclesiastical History of Britain, from p. 467.

ceive how much the world was indebted to the reformation. There is manifested in the confession, an earnest desire to make man happy in private life, while at the same time, embracing what he owes to others as members of the same community, it tends to guard him against cruelty and rebellion on one hand, against meanness of spirit, and humiliating submission to tyranny on the other. It is impossible to take into view the many disadvantages under which the composers of this summary laboured, the numberless causes which might have darkened their reason, stimulated their passions, or inflamed their imaginations, without the conviction, that although they had their failings, they possessed much soundness and vigour of mind, and had surveyed human nature with a piercing eye,—without feeling some indignation, that they have, even by writers whose strength of mind might have preserved them from the weakness of sacrificing the love of truth to affectation of liberality of sentiment, been studiously held forth to the public as ignorant or intemperate zealots; who, although instrumental in accomplishing a most important revolution in the moral and religious state of Scotland, are entitled to no respect, may be held in contempt by their more cultivated and unprejudiced descendants *.

The reformers unjustly depreciated.

* Mr Hume invariably speaks most contemptuously of the reformers. His religious principles, or rather his want of religious principle, led him to do so, and the impression made by his works, has very strongly contributed to prevent these reformers from holding

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But it was not enough to destroy the foundation upon which the church of Rome had built her most profitable delusions; she claimed to be the only true church; she represented every deviation from what she declared to be right, as entailing the guilt of schism or of impiety; and it was therefore of much importance to guard protestants against representations which, by alarming their fears, might, in those seasons of depression which arrive to all, have agitated their minds, and even given a shock to the stability of their faith. This naturally led the compilers of the confession to engross in it their sentiments respecting the true church, and the

the high place in the estimation of their countrymen, to which they are without doubt most justly entitled. The fascination of genius, gives even to the erroneous and hasty assertions of those who are possessed of it, a charm which prevents calm examination, and confers authority on what ought to be disregarded; but when the same assertions proceed from men of feebler powers, they are at once seen in their true light. A very striking instance of the length to which rash calumny against the reformers has been sometimes carried, occurs in Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History. After some flippant and truly desultory remarks against the clergy, this writer mentions a fact which rests upon the authority of Knox, and he immediately adds, "notwithstanding the relation of a hot-brained fanatic, this may be partly true." It is difficult to ascribe, even to self-deceit, such a magical power as we must suppose it to possess, if we imagine that Mr Dalyell could, or a moment think, that it was necessary in him to apologize for condescending to trust in the testimony of Knox; or that the reputation of this eminent reformer, whose energy of mind is apparent in every sentence which he wrote, and in every action which he performed, could suffer from a charge supported by no evidence, but clearly shewing that no attempt had been made to appreciate his character.

validity of that authority which the bishops of Rome had so long exercised. They teach "that the church of Christ is not marked out by external circumstances—by antiquity, succession, or numbers, the great grounds upon which the pope established the universality of the Roman church—but by the true preaching of the word, by the right administration of the sacraments, and by such a system of ecclesiastical discipline, as tended to the encouragement of virtue and the suppression of vice." These marks the confession claims, as belonging to the protestant church, and this claim rendered it necessary to advert to some of the peculiar tenets of popery, particularly respecting the authority and interpretation of Scripture, the nature and dispensation of the sacraments, and the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion.

The church of Rome, strangely representing the Scriptures as wrapped in impenetrable obscurity, had long taught that the pope, or perhaps a general council, was invested by the Holy Spirit with the privilege and ability of interpreting them, and consequently of deciding every controversy, and pronouncing upon every doctrine,—that no private person was permitted to follow the light of his own mind, but was bound to acquiesce in the decision of the true and infallible church.

The Scotish reformers resist this irrational and debasing doctrine. They declare "that as the authority of Scripture arises from its being dictated by

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inspiration, it was reasonable to conclude that it had been rendered by divine wisdom adapted for the purpose for which it was intended, to be the rule of faith and manners; that in every case of difficulty, the inquiry ought to be, "not what had been before thought with regard to it, but what was really taught in the canonical books, or was sanctioned by the example of our Saviour."

After the reverence for the see of Rome began to abate, the eyes of those who wished for reformation, were directed towards a general council; and for a considerable time, they offered to submit to the decision of such a council, upon all the points of controversy which had been agitated. Their views, however, gradually became more just and enlarged.—By attending to the history, and to the proceedings of general councils, they were convinced that these assemblies had often been constituted, and had often acted in a manner not favourable for the investigation or the discovery of truth. They thus very early became doubtful, whether infallibility could be attributed to the decrees of councils; and before the confession of faith was framed in Scotland, they had accurately estimated the degree of respect to which these decrees were entitled. The compilers admitted "that the opinions of general councils were entitled to examination, as proceeding from men who had been conversant, or who should have been conversant with the study of Scripture; but they explicitly denied that there be-

longed to these men any right to devise articles of faith, or to add to what had been delivered in the word of God."

Having thus attempted to shew that the protestant church had the essential requisites of a true church of Christ, they conceived it necessary to deliver their doctrine respecting the sacraments, and particularly the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Respecting the Sacraments.

The tenet of transubstantiation, so revolting to reason, and so obviously confuted by the testimony of the senses, was eminently adapted to increase the veneration entertained for the priesthood. By their act, bread and wine became the real body and blood of Christ, and upon their secret intention the efficacy of communion entirely depended. The protestants opposed and denied transubstantiation, but it is remarkable that they departed so little, at least from the language in which it had been announced. The sentiments of Luther and his followers differed more in appearance than in reality from those of his adversaries—were open to objections almost equally insurmountable; while Calvin, although he clearly decided against the presence of the actual body and blood of Jesus, expressed himself with a kind of ambiguous reverence upon this interesting subject. Knox, and they who assisted him, use, in their confession, a mode of phraseology which evidently proves that they were perplexed about the nature of that communication which, in partaking of the signs, exists between the Redeemer and his

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people. They thus deliver their opinion: "We believe that in the supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that he becometh the very nourishment and food of our souls. Not that we imagine any transubstantiation of bread into Christ's natural body, and of wine into his natural blood, as the papists have perniciously taught and damnably believed, but this union and communion which we have with the body and blood of Christ in the right use of the sacrament, is wrought by operation of the Holy Ghost, who, by true faith, carrieth us above all things that are visible, and carnal, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the body and blood of Christ Jesus, which was once broken and shed for us, which now is in the heavens, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for us. And yet, notwithstanding the far distance of place which is betwixt his body, now glorified in heaven, and us now mortal upon the earth, yet we most assuredly believe that the bread which we break is the communion of Christ's body, and the cup which we bless, is the communion of his blood. The faithful in the right use of the Lord's table, so do eat and drink the body and blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them and they in him."

It cannot be denied that there is in this laboured exposition much obscurity. It shews very remarkably, that, in religious reformation, it is not always what is most at war with reason which can with the greatest ease be renounced. The reformers in

Scotland denied transubstantiation, but they admitted what they called a spiritual presence. They often spake, however, of this presence, in a manner which they certainly would not have done, had not the tenet which they opposed acquired a firm hold of the faith of mankind, in a manner which, without their own express declaration to the contrary, might have led us to think that they really were convinced of the literal pesence of Christ in the elements, by which his sufferings are signified and recalled to the faithful.

But while they were thus embarrassed upon this subject, their ideas upon the right method of administering the sacraments were very precise. They taught "that these sacraments should be dispensed by ministers lawfully called by some particular church, and using the elements prescribed by Christ himself."—Upon the violation of these principles by the church of Rome, they founded the justification of their conduct in separating from her communion. That church, by varying the mode of administration, by accompanying it with ceremonies not authorized by the original institution, certainly presumed to supersede the authority of the Author of our religion, and thus laid itself open to reproach, which its adversaries triumphantly cast upon it, and which they had little difficulty in convincing their followers had been most justly deserved. The compilers of the confession, with energy remark, "to what end, and in what opinion the priests say their

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masses, let the words of the same, of their own doctors and writings witness; that they, as mediators betwixt Christ and his church, do offer unto God the Father a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead; which doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and making derogation from the sufficiency of his only sacrifice, once offered for purgation of all those which shall be sanctified, we utterly abhor, detest, and renounce."

Respecting government.

The parts of the confession to which I have alluded, were naturally suggested by the controversy between the church of Rome and those who had withdrawn from it.—But there was another subject, with respect to which the Scotish reformers were, by different causes, powerfully impelled to declare their sentiments. In defence of their faith, and of those civil rights, the value of which their struggle for that faith had impressed on their minds, they had been compelled, as has been related, to resist the authority of government, and virtually to disobey the commands of their sovereign. Their opponents, availing themselves of this circumstance, held them forth as men impatient of all restraint, who wished to annihilate the office of the magistrate no less than the influence of the church. When, then, they had so far succeeded as to be able to direct the voice of parliament, it became essential for recommending their cause to a large and a most respectable part of their countrymen, to wipe away the aspersion which had been thrown upon them, by plainly

stating their sentiments in relation to government, and to those by whom it was administered.

There was also another reason which forcibly impelled them to make such a statement. They knew that the queen was warmly attached to the popish faith, and apprehensive that she might endeavour to revive its splendour and power, they wished to lay down the position, that it was, in their estimation, the duty of every prince to reform the church. Their view in this obviously was, to provide the most effectual security for the prevalence of their own religious opinions, by leading the people to regard every attempt of their sovereign to subvert them as a violation of what was due by rulers to the supreme Being—as an infringment of what every monarch owes to his subjects. In their anxiety to fortify themselves and their tenets, they did not advert to the danger of the expedient to which they had recourse. Although they attached only one idea to the reformation of the church, they who thought differently were equally entitled to attach another; and as every denomination of Christians conceive that they are restoring the purity of religion, when they disseminate their peculiar views, the reformers in fact put into the hands of the prince a formidable weapon, which, according to his inclination or his ability, might be equally directed against catholics and protestants. In this point, then, they acted in direct opposition to the general principles of liberty which they had avowed, and

They admit upon this subject a dangerous measure.

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their posterity had deep cause to lament the evils which arose from the determination of different sovereigns to regulate, by their own belief, or by their own political views, the belief of their people.

Inculcate obedience to magistrates upon just principles.

But whatever may be thought of this part of the article, even the most zealous advocates of monarchical government must coincide in the general spirit which pervades it, unless, perhaps, they be dissatisfied at the insertion of one short clause, guarding against the absurdity of passive obedience and non-resistance. "The compilers of the confession acknowledge empires, kingdoms, dominions, and cities, that is, all different forms of civil polity, calculated to promote security and happiness, to be the ordinance of God for the singular profit and commodity of mankind: They declare, that such persons as are invested with authority, are to be loved, honoured, feared, and held in the most revered estimation, because they are appointed by God to praise and defend good men, to punish and suppress the wicked: They profess to believe, that to kings and rulers it belongs to reform and purify religion; and they finally teach, that they who resist the supreme powers, doing what belongs to them, do resist God's ordinance, and cannot be guiltless."

While they thus guard, in the strongest manner, against turbulence, sedition, and rebellion,—while they place a fence around the constituted authorities, sufficient to protect them from violence, they do

not relinquish the principles upon which they had so long acted; but they rest the duty of subjection to rulers upon this ground, that these rulers discharge with fidelity the important trust reposed in them; they represent the relation between the prince and the people, as designed for the good of the whole; and they plainly take for granted, that cases may occur, when revolt against the supreme power would not be chargeable with the guilt of resisting the appointment of heaven.

This limitation of submission, so obviously reasonable, so plainly arising from the very nature of the social union, has, however, been considered as invalidating the general professions of reverence for sovereigns with which this article is replete; one historian has expressly made this observation, and in doing so, delivered the opinion which many entertained at the period of his writing. "The twenty-fourth article," he says, "speaks very honourably of civil government; owns it the ordinance of God, and condemns those who resist the supreme powers doing that which appertains to their charge. This clause was added, to secure the doctrine of resistance, and justify the late practice against the crown; and thus, by throwing these dead flies into the ointment, the perfume is lost, and the ingredients made good for nothing *."

Such sentiments are now embraced probably by very few, in Britain at least, at the present day.

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 467.

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The doctrine of resistance, which was so long regarded with horror by the kings of the race of Stuart, and by those who, after the abdication of that family, supported their pretensions, far from being inconsistent with loyalty, renders it a duty of the most sacred obligation; because it naturally produces the most profound reverence for every constitution which combines, with the prerogative and the splendour of the monarch, the preservation of the liberties of those over whom he rules. How strikingly has this truth been exemplified during the awful revolutionary period which is not yet terminated! The inhabitants of Britain, generally attached to the political principles which distinguished the Scotish reformers, and living under a government, framed in conformity to the spirit of these principles, have shewn themselves the strenuous conscientious defenders of the rights of the crown; have preserved their beloved sovereign from the approach of that licentious violence, and of those deceitful theories of political philosophy, which have laid prostrate the thrones of so many of the despotical European monarchs.

There is still one feature of the confession to which, in detailing the principles and views of the reformers, it is proper to advert.

Do not insist much upon mysterious points.

Although the fundamental truths of Christianity are clearly revealed, and can, by every fair mind, be easily apprehended, yet this religion, in common with that of nature, directs the thoughts of specu

lative men to inquiries respecting our origin and nature, and the designs and counsels of the Almighty, which, however they may fascinate those who devote to them the powers of their understanding, can never be reduced to the level of human comprehension; and some of the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, although their practical tendency be in the highest degree beneficial, lead to investigations equally delusive or unintelligible—to investigations by which the most pious and sincere Christians may be conducted to very different conclusions.

In the early ages of the church, the attention of the converts was not much turned to these dark speculations. The persecution to which they were all exposed, and the difficulties which they all had to encounter, left them little leisure or inclination for metaphysical or theological discussion.

But after Constantine had established Christianity as the religion of the empire, and had conferred on its ministers affluence and honour, the natural tendency of the human mind to abstract or frivolous disquisition was allowed full scope, and the members of the church freely speculated upon points into which the pride of philosophy, perhaps no less than religious zeal, induced them to inquire. From that period, accordingly, the number of heresies astonishingly increased; and these heresies chiefly related to subjects which admitted of endless diversity of sentiment. The obscure unsatisfactory tenets which were announced respecting the divine decrees,

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the extent of election, the union of the human and divine natures in Christ, were inculcated as essential parts of the Christian scheme, and were engrossed in creeds; so that all who could not assent to them, or who declared, which must have been very common, that they did not understand them, were detested as enemies of the orthodox faith, and were excluded from the privileges of the church.

The rapid diffusion of ignorance, and the no less rapid ascendancy which the Popes gained over the European world, extinguished, in a great degree, this evil, by the introduction of one not less to be deplored. The reason of man was chained, and he looked to the papal chair as to the infallible source of divine truth. It was to be expected that the reformation, asserting the right of private judgment, and restoring liberty of free discussion, would again introduce numberless modifications of sentiment upon the mysteries of revelation. This actually was the case. The attention of the reformers was soon withdrawn from the plain and practical discoveries of our Lord, and was exhausted in controversies, often as unprofitable, and as little adapted to guide to important truth, as those which had disgraced the fourth and the fifth centuries. Each sect attached to the crude explanations which it invented the utmost consequence; and confessions of faith, still retaining the most interesting and impressively sublime doctrines of the

gospel, comprehended, as of equal authority, dogmatical assertions upon those secret things, which, in the just and energetic language of Scripture, are said to belong to the Lord. 1560.

At the period, however, at which the confession of the Scotish reformers was composed, such subjects were not the prominent ones which they were eager to exhibit. There are, indeed, occasional allusions to them; but most of the articles of that confession may be subscribed by all Christians, and nearly the whole by that most numerous part of the disciples of Jesus who believe in his pre-existence, and regard him with reverence and love, as the saviour of the world.

Such were the views and sentiments, as to doctrine, entertained by the first reformers in Scotland; such the circumstances which led them to frame a confession of faith, and to petition that it might be sanctioned by the estates of parliament.

Question respecting religious establishments.

But although their peculiar situation may, in the estimation of many, justify their conduct, the question may now arise, how far confessions ought to receive that kind of authority which the civil power can bestow on them. The dangers which threatened the reformation have happily passed away; and it has been thought an infringement of the liberty of conscience, which that important revolution professed to introduce, to make any distinction amongst the different denominations of Christians—to confer on one class privileges and immunities which are not extended to the rest.

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Plausible as are the reasonings directed against establishments which the legislative confirmation of confessions implies, much may be said in their defence; and it may be shewn, with great strength of argument, that when properly regulated, they not only leave unimpaired the rights of conscience, but are attended with many advantages. It is readily admitted to be an object of much national importance to educate the young, to patronize the arts, to foster science, and to emancipate from prejudices and opinions, which exert a pernicious influence upon the political situation or conduct of those who are guided by them; and surely, for similar reasons, religion should not be overlooked by any government properly solicitous for its own stability, and for the real good of all who live under its protection. The most powerful motives which can determine the will are derived from this source; it professes to regulate human actions; it directly affects the dispositions, the feelings, and the comfort of mankind. Erroneous views of religion have often led to the most dangerous and fatal excesses; they, at all times, embitter the enjoyment of life; and they are generally most unfavourable to that pure and steady morality, to that scrupulous attention to the relations in which providence has placed us, which it is of so much moment, both in a private and a national light, to secure.

If such be the effects of religion, such the hazard of adopting fallacious sentiments with regard to it:

and if it be wisdom in government to counteract every cause of moral evil, it becomes the duty of rulers to employ those means which can communicate to the great part of the community enlightened and liberal opinions, preserving the ignorant from being deluded by artful or wicked men, and directly tending to make them better subjects, —more valuable members of that society of which they compose a part.

Now this will be best accomplished by inculcating the religious principles which are adapted to promote these valuable purposes; and this may be done while all are left at perfect freedom to choose any other principles which appear to them more conformable to the standard of divine truth. If the language of any government, indeed, upon this subject should be, Here is the religion which must be embraced, and all who do not embrace it must be excluded from civil privileges, or harassed by punishment---this could not be too much reprobated; the tyranny implied in it would be the worst of evils. If, however, government merely declare, that it is anxious to afford to all easy access to religious instruction, to secure the diligent efforts of men, bound by their office to teach the tenets which it has authorized, while it gives permission to every man to think for himself, and to submit to the direction of any teacher whom he approves; the hardship of such an establishment is altogether

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imaginary. They who dissent from it are precisely in the same situation in which they would have been had it never existed; while the inestimable advantage of moral and religious knowledge is conveyed by it to vast numbers, who, without such a provision, might have remained in the most melancholy and debasing ignorance.

An established religion is also of infinite use in preserving the religious spirit. It has often been observed that seasons of persecution give rise to the most striking displays of zeal. The human mind, which, when there is nothing to counteract the influence of the objects and pursuits of life, is naturally apt to be engrossed with them, is then roused to a sense of the importance and obligation of religion, and thus perceiving, in all its value, the blessedness connected with it, without hesitation makes every sacrifice, rather than act in a manner inconsistent with what appears requisite to secure its rewards.

An established faith operates in a similar, though less powerful manner. The desire of confuting the peculiar tenets of the national church, or of vindicating their own, impresses upon those who cannot conscientiously enter within its communion, the great precepts and the most momentous doctrines of religion; while they who venerate the church are compelled to defend themselves against attack, to examine the principles upon which they have decided their choice, and are thus prevented

from that indolence or carelessness in the discharge of duty, that indifference about the qualifications so requisite for the sacred office, which the absence of every adversary might, in an alarming degree, have produced. Had there been no opposition thus created, no such motive to acquire converts, or to fix the faith of those who had been converted---had all been permitted to hold, upon an equal footing, their religious principles, no opportunity being afforded of attending divine worship without choosing and supporting a pastor, it is much to be feared, that, in the present state of society, and from the direction which advanced civilization and refinement give to the great mass of mankind, immense multitudes would either have sunk into indifference to divine truth, or would have been seduced by the corrupting maxims of profane and licentious philosophy; that corrupt and depraved habits, at present so unfortunately prevalent, would have been more widely spread; and that the rising generation, educated without any pious impressions, might have exhibited that total relaxation of morals, which is the prelude to the most awful political convulsions.

If the accounts which have been lately given by some travellers, of the state of religion in America, be accurate; and there seems little reason to doubt of their accuracy; that country does not invalidate what has been stated *; affords no ground for resisting

* See a chapter upon the State of Religion in America, contained in a book, entitled the Stranger in America, by Charles William Janson, Esq. 1807. P. 100---107. See also some curious observations

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the conclusion which experience suggests, and tends to impress upon those who have not brought themselves to consider the extermination of every trace of religion as desirable, that the preference given by a legislature to one denomination of Christians, when regulated and limited as has been pointed out, and as is at present the case in Scotland, is highly advantageous; and that much of the principle which exists in a country may be ascribed to the effects, which, through its religious establishment, are produced upon the understandings and the hearts of the people.

proceeding upon the supposition, that in America there is at present no need for a religious establishment; and accounting for this, in an ingenious essay on national establishments in religion, by John Bigland Esq. in Vol. I. of his Essays, p. 44.

CHAPTER EIGHTEENTH.

Book of Discipline....Analysis of it...Principle assumed by those who framed it....Tendency of the Principle ... I. Scheme of Church-Government and Regulations respecting the Ministers of Religion....II. Scheme of Education;...Enlightened views upon this Subject;... Parochial Schools;...Academies;....Universities;...Plan of Study;....Reformers propose to provide for Teachers out of the funds of the Church;....Consequence of the adoption of this Plan....III. Provision for the Clergy; ...Disposal of the Revenues of the Church;...Support of the Poor.....IV. Miscellaneous Regulations....Beauty and simplicity of this Scheme of Ecclesiastical Polity. ....Too great an innovation....Opinion of Archbishop Hamilton....Book of Discipline not in conformity to the Sentiments and Practice of either of the Established Churches in Britain....Reflections upon it.

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Book of Discipline.

THE Scotish reformers were sensible that the great objects which they had in view could not be accomplished merely by collecting the doctrines and principles in which they believed; they saw the necessity of forming a church, of devising a system of ecclesiastical polity, under which their tenets might be inculcated and enforced. This led to the composition of the first book of discipline; a gene-

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ral acquaintance with which is requisite for thoroughly estimating the sentiments of the men who were employed in the formation of it; for deciding upon the enlargement of their views, and upon the soundness of their understandings. They assume, as the foundation of their superstructure, a principle which merits attentive examination; and the superstructure which they erected may be contemplated, even by those who do not approve of it, with strong feelings of reverence and admiration.

Principle assumed.

Whatever was the practice of the apostles in settling the churches which they planted, whether they regulated ecclesiastical administration by one model, or varied it according to the peculiar circumstances of the converts whom they attached to the faith, it admits not of a doubt that disparity in the priesthood was very early introduced, and that a preference was soon given to the episcopal scheme of governing the church. The church of Rome, after attaining the plenitude of its spiritual authority, made, as has been stated in the introductory book, a material alteration in the sentiments which, upon this subject, were entertained. It supported, with all its influence, the existence of different orders of priests; but instead of representing the bishops as an order instituted by Scripture, it taught that the Pope alone was appointed by Heaven, and that all other classes of the priesthood derived their origin and their privileges from him.

The bishops naturally opposed this doctrine, which degraded them in the estimation of Christendom. They struggled vigorously against it; and at the council of Trent displayed much ingenuity, and employed much acute reasoning to establish the high claims which had been once extensively allowed. 1560.

Many of the reformers were disposed to support the pretensions of the bishops; and after they had succeeded in rescuing themselves from the oppression of papal usurpation, they continued to maintain that ordination should be conferred solely by this higher rank of the clergy.

Calvin opened new views upon this interesting point. The peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, led him to investigate this preliminary question, whether any one form of church-government was exclusively appointed in the New Testament; and to affirm, that if this was not the case, mankind, although they ought to view with respect the practice of the primitive Christians, were left at full liberty to make such changes, or such revolutions in this matter, as might appear to them adapted to give efficacy to religious instruction, to facilitate the illumination and the improvement of the human race.

Upon this liberal maxim, apparently so much in harmony with an universal religion, a maxim which the early reformers in England zealously adopted, Knox, and they who assisted him, determined to

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proceed *. In the confession of faith they had clearly avowed it, and they recur to it in the book of discipline. In the confession it is said, "we do not think that one policy, and one order in ceremonies, can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as ceremonies, such as men have devised, are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition than edify the church using the same †."

In the book of discipline, some parts of the plan there delineated are represented as accommodated to the state in which Scotland then was ‡.

If the principle upon which the whole plan thus rests be contrary to the explicit declarations of Scripture, no view of its fitness, as determined by us, can entitle it, for a moment, to the consideration of Christians. If, however, there be much reason for supposing that there is in the sacred volume nothing inconsistent with it; if the remarkable contrast between the general intimations relating to the government of churches, which are con-

* For the opinions entertained by the English reformers upon the subject of church government, the reader may, with much satisfaction, consult Neal's History of the Puritans, a work written with great candour, and containing a statement of facts resting upon unquestionable authorities.

† Knox and Calderwood, as before quoted.

‡ Spottiswoode has inserted the first book of discipline, at full length, in his History; and summaries of it may be seen in Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland; in Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv.; and in the second volume of Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain.

tained in the New Testament, and the minute description of the Jewish ritual and hierarchy in the Old, seems to warrant the conclusion that there is really no one form of policy binding upon the disciples of Jesus; then may the tendency of the principle be fairly pled in its defence, be properly urged to shew, that the Scotish reformers paved the way for introducing the most enlarged and beneficent liberality of sentiment. 1560.

Tendency of the principle.

It is evident that the direct tendency of the principle is, to preserve amongst the churches of Christ that charity which should unite them; to prevent all aversion to good men, from the sole circumstance of their belonging to different communions; for, if the excellence of any particular form of church government is to be estimated according to the situation of those among whom it is established, then may the members of the various churches, agreeing in the great doctrines of the gospel, regard each other as influenced by the spirit of Christianity, as sincerely desirous to honour and to obey its benevolent author.

If on the other hand it be believed, that only one model has been stamped with the divine sanction, the idea naturally follows, that all who do not conform to this model, however distinguished by elevation of piety and purity of life, are acting in opposition to the dictates of inspiration, and cannot be viewed as composing a Christian church.

These consequences, it is true, will often be mo-

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dified or prevented by a variety of causes. It has perhaps frequently happened, that they who adhered to the maxim of the Scotish reformers, have beheld with antipathy every scheme different from their own, while the advocates for the divine institution of one form of church polity have not considered it as belonging to them to pronounce judgment upon such as differ from them; but the tendency of the two opinions is certainly what has been pointed out, and that tendency seems to be in no slight degree exemplified, by the general state of opinion in the two established churches of Britain *.

That Knox had not that abhorrence at episcopacy, which soon after his days was unhappily introduced into Scotland, by men who disregarded

* Although it has of late become very much the practice amongst the English clergy to inculcate that episcopacy is of divine institution, and that orders not conferred by a bishop have no validity, in other words, to claim for their church the exclusive privilege of being the church of Christ, many of its most enlightened and venerable members retain the sentiments upon this point which prevailed after the reformation; in fact hold the general principle which was enforced by the Scotish reformers. That principle is stated with great clearness and precision by Mr Gisborne, in his very valuable Inquiry into the Duties of Man, Vol. II. p. 23. 2d edition, London, 1795. I need not observe, that this principle is perfectly consistent with a decided preference of episcopacy; does not imply, in those who have embraced it, any want of zeal for the establishment under which they live. I have already adduced several proofs in confirmation of the liberal maxims by which, in the days of Cranmer and some of his successors, the church of England was guided; and it surely cannot be thought that this church at that period was not entitled to respect and veneration.

or denied his fundamental principle, is very apparent. In the thanksgivings made for the expulsion of the French, which he probably composed and certainly approved, the reformers prayed that the godly league which was contracted with the English might not be broken, but that, by the Holy Spirit, they might remain united; and at a subsequent period he carried to England a letter from the superintendents, ministers, and commissioners of the church within the realm of Scotland, addressed to their brethren, the bishops and pastors in England who had renounced the Roman antichrist, and professed the Lord Jesus in sincerity *.

Knox, and the other ministers who were associated with him, thus considering themselves as at liberty to make laws for the administration and government of the church, composed the first book of discipline. In it they appointed different orders of ministers and officers of the church; fixed upon the mode in which they should be set apart to the holy office of the ministry; laid down a plan of education for enlightening, not merely those destined to be religious teachers, but the great body

* Spottiswoode, B. iv. p. 198. Knox, B. iii. p. 236. Calderwood's History. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined and disproved; a keen polemical work, but in which there is a great deal of acute reasoning and valuable information. It was written by John Sage, a bishop of the old episcopal church of Scotland. A few particulars respecting him have been published by Lord Woodhouselee, in the Appendix to the first Volume of his Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Lord Kames, No. I. p. 7

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of the community; proposed regulations respecting the revenue of the church, and the emoluments of its ministers, and gave directions upon many miscellaneous points, intimately connected with religion and virtue. All this is introduced by some remarks upon doctrine, to which, after what has been already stated, it is not necessary to advert, and I shall therefore arrange my observations upon the scheme of ecclesiastical polity, the chief part of the book of discipline, under the general heads which have been specified.

Scheme of church government and regulations respecting the ministers of religion.

I. Ministers of religion and officers of the church. The book of discipline does not require equality amongst those devoted to the ministry. There are three classes of teachers enumerated—superintendents, ordinary ministers or parochial clergy, and readers. To these are added, elders and deacons.

The ordinary pastors were distributed amongst the different churches, one congregation or parish being assigned to each; but the superintendents were invested with powers in many respects similar to those which, in churches governed according to the episcopal model, were committed to bishops. Particular provinces, sometimes agreeably to the ancient custom denominated dioceses, were allotted to them; they had jurisdiction over the great body of ministers in their respective districts; they were enjoined and authorized in their visitations to try the life, diligence, and behaviour of the clergy; to inquire into the order observed in their churches,

and into the manners of their people; to investigate how the poor were supported, how the youth were instructed; to admonish where admonition appeared to them to be requisite, and to redress whatever, by counsel and prudence, could be remedied. Other privileges were afterwards, as shall be observed in the progress of this history, conferred on them; and from all these marks of distinction, many advocates of episcopacy, unwilling to admit that so large a portion of the reformed church could have so early extinguished all reverence for what they conceived to rest upon apostolical authority, have zealously contended, that, although in Scotland the title of bishop was, from accidental causes, not at first recognized, yet the office was virtually established *.

It is evident, however, that even although this were admitted, the Scotish reformers must be viewed as having relinquished the divine institution of episcopacy. Had they been convinced that bishops were essential to the very existence of a Christian church, or of the Christian priesthood, they would not have presumed to change the name used by the inspired writers, more particularly as they professed to be guided by Scripture in all the innovations which they attempted to introduce.

But every shadow of argument for the identity

* See this point very strongly pressed, and very ingeniously treated, in the controversial work already quoted, the Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined and disproved.

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of bishops and superintendents, against which even the change of name alone so strongly militates, is annihilated, when the limitations to the powers of superintendents, and the duties which were strictly imposed on them, are brought into consideration. They were prohibited from living idle as the bishops had done, from consulting in the choice of their residence, their personal convenience and comfort, if the securing of these was inconsistent with the utmost exertion in their spiritual vocation; they were required to be themselves preachers, to remain in a particular place for several months, exercising the pastoral office. They were then to enter upon their visitation; during the continuance of which, they were to preach at least three times a-week, and not to rest till all the churches under their inspection had been provided with ministers, or if these, from the infancy of the reformation, could not at once be obtained, with those inferior instructors, to whom the appellation of readers was appropriated. Far from being exempted from the controul of the body of the clergy, they were subject to its censure and correction, and even the elders of the chief towns might complain of them if they became negligent, particularly in visiting and preaching. If they were convicted of any of the crimes, which in common ministers were condemned, they were subjected to deprivation, without respect to their persons or their office. It is plain, from these regulations, that they held a

very different place in the church from that which is assigned to bishops; that many of the restrictions under which they were laid, more especially the fundamental requisition of their living under the controul of the church, are totally incompatible with the privileges and the dignity attached to those who are invested with episcopal jurisdiction. CHAP. XVIII. 1560.

To the superintendents succeeded the ordinary pastors, who regularly discharged the ministerial duties, dispensed the sacraments, preached to the people, resided in their parishes, and exerted themselves in every way to increase the influence of pure and practical religion.

In the first age of the reformation in Scotland, it was not possible at once to procure a sufficient number of men properly qualified for the ministry. To supply this want, at least so far that the people should not remain ignorant of religion, readers were appointed, whose duty it was distinctly to read a form of prayer, and the Holy Scriptures, for the exercise and improvement of themselves and of the church.

To these distinct classes of persons who officiated in the celebration of divine worship, were added elders and deacons, men of irreproachable life, annually selected from the congregation. The elders were required to assist the minister in all public affairs of the church, to superintend the morals of the people, to lead them by example to adopt a life of piety and virtue; and they were also empowered to take heed to the life and doctrine of the pastors.

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The deacons were intended chiefly to be the collectors of the revenue of the church, to gather charitable contributions, and to distribute them amongst the poor, agreeably to the directions of the ministers and elders, but they were permitted, upon particular occasions to act as elders, and to become readers, if they were called, and qualified for that purpose.

Having thus marked out the orders of persons who were to bear office in the church, the book of discipline proceeds to lay down the mode in which the clergy were to be set apart to the ministry. It is assumed as an undisputed principle, "that, in a reformed church, or even in one tending to reformation, none ought to presume to take the clerical office till regularly called." This regular call comprehended election, examination, and admission. The right of election, was, with certain limitations, vested, in the first instance, with the congregation requiring a minister. If they failed to elect within the space of forty days from a vacancy happening, the superintendent of the district, with his council, might proceed to choose a pastor.

The person elected had then to undergo the strictest examination as to the soundness of his doctrine, the extent of his knowledge, and the regularity and piety of his life. For this purpose, he was obliged to appear before men of the soundest judgment, in the nearest principal town, or in the town of the superintendent, and there, either in the schools, or if it were esteemed more proper, in open

assembly, he was required to evince his qualifications by interpreting and expounding some passage of Scripture, which his examinators prescribed to him. If he performed this in a satisfactory manner, they interrogated him respecting those topics of religious controversy which were then most keenly agitated. Upon his evidencing acquaintance with these, he was appointed to preach, in the church for which he was destined, upon justification, upon the offices of Christ, upon the number, the use, and the effect of the sacraments, and generally, upon all those tenets by which the protestants were distinguished from the church of Rome.

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But although the people commonly elected the person thus examined, this was not always the case. It is declared indeed, that "intrusion upon a congregation is to be avoided;" yet it is plain, that what was called the council of the whole church, might nominate to a vacant parish, and that when they did so, it was considered not only as unreasonable, but in the highest degree censurable, to reject the person named, unless the congregation had, previously to his trial, fixed upon one equally, or better qualified. So much was this the law, that it is expressly stated, that, when the council, in the fear of God, recommend a pastor to a church, it is no violent intrusion to insist that he should be received.

Careful as the framers of the book of discipline were, to ascertain the intellectual endowments, and the religious information of the candidates for the

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ministry, they were no less solicitous, that all who were entrusted with the pastoral office should be men of irreproachable and pious character. To make sure of this, they enjoined that public edicts should be addressed to all places, particularly to those in which the candidates had been educated, or had usually resided, calling upon all persons to publish what they knew of the errors, or the vices of such as were intended to be ministers, declaring that they who concealed the known sins of men designed for the sacred office, did, as far as lay in them, deceive and betray the church of God, and partook of the crimes of the wicked, over whose faults they had kept a veil.

These preparatory steps and investigations having been completed, there remained only the act of admission to form the pastoral relation. This admission was very different from the ordination which had so long been established in the Christian church. It consisted merely in the consent of the people to receive a particular person as their teacher, and in the formal approbation of the ministers who had judged him qualified to become a religious instructor. This was done, however, with much solemnity. The candidate was publickly warned to attend carefully to the flock over which he was to be placed, to walk in the presence of God so sincerely, as that the graces of the Holy Spirit might be multiplied upon him, and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly, that, by his exemplary life, the

word which he taught might be confirmed. The people, likewise, were exhorted to reverence and honour their minister, as the servant and ambassador of the Lord Jesus, obeying the doctrine delivered to them out of the word, as they would obey God himself. This was all which was requisite for admission. The reformers approved of no ceremonies, they even discontinued the practice of the imposition of hands, upon this ground, that, as the miraculous communication of the Holy Spirit, which in the days of the Apostles was thus conveyed, had ceased, it was not necessary to use the sign of that communication. They thus considered admission or ordination solely as the designation of a person properly qualified to an important office, of course dissenting from the doctrine of the indelible character of the priesthood, and rendering unnecessary the exclusive act, or blessing of the bishop, which had been conceived requisite for conferring, in a manner to human reason inexplicable, that sacred character.

Whatever may be thought of the authority of this plan for supplying the church with teachers, it certainly was admirably adapted to secure, in as far as human prudence could secure, a succession of learned, intelligent, and virtuous ministers of religion, to prevent the ignorance and presumption of enthusiasm, with all the lamentable consequences which from these causes have so often originated.

When an ordinary pastor was exalted to be

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a superintendent, he had to undergo new trials. He who discharged with fidelity his duty as a parochial minister, might not possess the talents or the fortitude which a higher office required; and hence it became most proper that an inquiry should be instituted, to determine in what degree he was endowed with these qualifications. When, accordingly, the day fixed for the election of a superintendent arrived, all persons who had been nominated as candidates were to be examined by the ministers of the province, and by the adjacent superintendents, respecting their learning, manners, prudence, and ability to govern the church; and he who was conscientiously judged to excel in these, was to be appointed. Even, however, in setting aside a minister to this most elevated rank in the church, no peculiar ceremony was employed.

The object of that part of the book of discipline, which has been detailed, evidently was, that the clergy whom it recognized should be enlightened well educated men; and this naturally suggested the importance of making provision, not only for this purpose, but for the diffusion of divine and human knowledge amongst the great body of the people.

This is the second interesting part of the scheme to which it is proper to advert.

Scheme of education, and enlightened views upon the subject.

II. The compilers of the book of discipline, preface their plan of education with these remarkable expressions: "Seeing men, now a-days, are not miraculously gifted, as in the time of the Apostles; for

the continuance of knowledge and learning to the generations following, especially for the profit and comfort of Christ's church, it is necessary that care be had of the virtuous and godly education of youth." For the attainment of this important object, they made the most judicious and salutary regulations. They laid the foundation of their scheme in the institution of parochial schools, which cannot be too warmly extolled, and the beneficial consequences of which cannot be too highly appreciated, such an institution being perhaps essential for successfully cultivating the intellectual and moral faculties. "We judge," they observe, "that in every parish, there should be a schoolmaster, such an one as is able at least to teach the grammar and the Latin tongue, where the town is of any reputation." In the town of the superintendent academies were to be founded, in which logic, rhetoric, and the learned languages were to be taught, by competent masters. The design of the academies was to carry on the literary advancement of those who, from their poverty, could not bear the expence of residing at a distance from their friends. It is justly observed, that many advantages might result from these intermediate seminaries. "The children will be brought up under the eye of their parents, their necessities will be more easily supplied, while those evils will be avoided, which are too apt to overtake youth, when they are sent to strange and unknown places." Living at a period when

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the advantages of good education were not so widely or so strongly perceived as in more modern times, the Scotish reformers were anxious to extend to as many as they could these advantages; and for this purpose, it was designed even to compel parents, by the censures of the church, to bring up their children in knowledge and in virtue.

The young men who gave undoubted evidence of such genius and talents, as might, when properly cultivated, render them useful members of the church or of the state, were to be encouraged to prosecute their studies, and when the elementary principles of knowledge had been acquired, were to be sent to the university.

Universities.

Three universities were recognized in the scheme: those of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; and the course of education in each of them was distinctly marked out. The university of St Andrews, which was styled the principal one, was to consist of three colleges. In the first college there were to be four classes. In the first class dialectics were appointed to be taught to the students, who had been just enrolled; the second class was appropriated to metaphysics; the third to physic, by which was meant natural philosophy; and the last to medicine. In the two other colleges of this university, two classes only were in each to be opened. The second college was set apart for instruction in moral philosophy and laws, the third college for Greek, Hebrew, and divinity.

Plan of study.

The first college was denominated the college of philosophy, and the student who continued for three years, became a graduate in philosophy. If he proceeded to the study of medicine, and was, at the end of five years, found to have acquired such knowledge of the science as qualified him for practice, he obtained a medical degree. The second college was that of law. The one professor taught moral philosophy, comprehending ethics, political economy, and politics, finishing his course in one year. The other professor lectured for four years, upon Roman and municipal law, and the students who continued to attend to the termination of the course, were, upon undergoing an examination, and showing their improvement, entitled to a degree in laws. The third college was chiefly devoted to theology. The Greek and Hebrew languages were taught in it by two professors, who concluded their instructions in a year; and two lecturers in theology, for five seasons, enlarged upon that science. Young men who made proficiency, received, at the end of that time, a degree in divinity.

Much care was taken to prevent improper persons from becoming students. Every person, before he was admitted into the first college, was obliged to produce a certificate from the master of the school, and from the minister of the town where he had been instructed in the Latin language, bearing testimony to his learning, his docility, and his parentage. The same education was not prescribed to

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all, but proper rules were laid down respecting the studies to be prosecuted by those destined for different professions.

The university of Glasgow was to comprise two colleges, in the one of which were to be taught dialectics, mathematics, and natural philosophy; in the second, moral philosophy, Roman and municipal law, the Hebrew language, and divinity. The university of Aberdeen was in all respects to correspond with that of Glasgow. In each university a principal and rector were to be chosen.

Reformers propose to provide for teachers out of the funds of the church.

Such an extensive system of education necessarily required a considerable expence. The book of discipline provided for this from the revenue of the church. The compilers declare it to be their opinion, "that for the payment of the sums appropriated to the professors, the temporalities of bishoprics and collegiate churches should be destined, so far at least as was required;" and they thus clearly shewed, that they considered the success of literature as the best security for the preservation of religion and virtue. They viewed the teachers of youth as engaged, though in a different manner, in accomplishing the great object which the ministers of divine truth had devoted themselves to promote, and hence concluded, that both ought to participate of that wealth, which the ancient church had accumulated.

Consequence of the adop-

In the present day, this idea has given place to the legal doctrine respecting tithes, or, as they are

styled in Scotland, the teinds; and several of the universities, which, agreeably to the intentions of the first reformers, had been endowed with a portion of the revenue of the church, have been deprived of a part of that revenue to make the necessary additions to the livings of the clergy. The members of these universities have thus, at a period when the value of money has remarkably diminished, and when they therefore required an increase of the nominal sums which had been allotted to them, been reduced to more scanty emoluments than they once enjoyed. As no exception in favour of teinds granted to universities was originally made, the transference of these teinds could not, according to law, be avoided; but it may surely, with some confidence, be expected, that the general principles held by the reformers, with regard to the infinite importance of encouraging literature, will never be forgotten; that an enlightened legislature will apply such a remedy to the evil which has arisen, as will secure colleges being filled by men worthy and qualified to fill them.

tion of the plan.

It is not indeed so requisite to provide revenues for such teachers of youth as have been established in populous cities; because, if we do not relapse into the barbarism of savage ignorance, there will, wherever people are assembled, be many who will cheerfully employ a part of their wealth in the education of those by whom that wealth is to be inherited. But in situations where, however eminent the

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talents of the teachers may be, students cannot, from local circumstances, be very numerous, unless it be thought right to confine universities to the corrupting atmosphere of towns overflowing with population, salaries should be assigned to the different professors, so ample, as will prevent the love of interest from counteracting the inclinations which learned men may be supposed to feel for promoting the intellectual culture of the rising generation. Science is not, as the celebrated Dr Smith, in an unguarded moment, represented it, like an article of commerce, which will find its own level. The exertions of literary instructors do not, and in ordinary cases cannot, in any considerable degree, regulate the numbers who attend them. Under such men, wherever they are situated, the public will justly conclude, that the general elements of literature may be acquired, and assuming this, they will naturally decide upon the place to which children are to be sent for education, with a view to those prudential considerations which it is often impossible to disregard. The anxiety which parents feel to watch the opening faculties, to witness the expanding virtues of those who are most dear to them, their wish to direct by their counsel, and encourage by their approbation, will very commonly incline them to prefer the seminaries where these feelings can be gratified; and hence the colleges in great cities would receive a very large proportion of our youth, even although these colleges could not boast of the abili-

ties by which their members have generally been adorned.

Let it never be forgotten, that if we extinguish science, we undermine the church,—we most deeply wound pure and rational religion. When our universities cease to contain the treasures of knowledge, they who study within their walls, cannot be qualified for investigating the history, the records, the evidence of divine truth: If our clergy thus become universally or generally ignorant, they must be despised; and, as too often has happened, religion, associated with its ministers, will share their fate. These are evils well worthy the attention of any government; evils which would be cheaply averted at an expence ten-fold that which is sufficient to avert them *.

Such was the scheme of education framed by the early reformers in Scotland. The anxiety which they thus displayed to increase knowledge, to convey to all clases of their countrymen the inestimable advantages of mental culture, and of liberal science, entitles them to the veneration of posterity;—affords another decisive proof that they were not gloomy, illiterate and presumptuous enthusiasts. They here are presented to us, as influenced by the best of all philosophy; they appear in the amiable and interesting light of men benevolently seeking to

* To those who feel ardour for the cause of literature, and of intellectual improvement, the short digression respecting the universities, will, I trust, appear to stand in need of no apology.

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counteract, by the diffusion of just and rational sentiments, the calamities which ignorance, and superstition founded on it, had introduced into the world.

Although a great part of their plan, like the general system with which it was connected, was never carried into execution, we may consider it as having secured to Scotland the establishment of parochial schools, and that dissemination of the first principles of literature, which, through them, is so widely extended. The happy effects of this upon the moral and religious condition of the people have now for ages been observed—have furnished a practical confutation of all the wretched sophistry by which the instruction of the mass of the community has so long, and unfortunately so successfully, been opposed.

This most interesting subject has of late fixed the attention of some of the most enlightened statesmen in Britain, and they are now anxious to make the arduous attempt of procuring for the population of England the blessings which the Scotish reformers, between two and three centuries ago, imparted to their country. If these statesmen take the lesson which the reformers gave, the soundness of which experience has fully confirmed—if they combine education with the culture of moral and religious sentiment, they will essentially improve the condition of their fellow-subjects. By meliorating the principles and unfolding the understandings of

those from whom ignorance has at present shut out all the resources against the lowest intemperance, and the destructive habits which result from it, they will produce a degree of national prosperity and happiness, for which we must look in vain from any reform in the political state of Britain, while so many of its inhabitants are excluded from the means of instruction.

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Provision for the clergy, and disposal of the revenues of the church.

III. The next part of the scheme of policy devised by the reformers in Scotland, which throws light upon their opinions, and upon the state of the public mind respecting the church, is that which relates to the provision of the clergy, and to the revenues which ecclesiastics, under the old system, had for ages enjoyed. Of the immensity of the wealth of the church, and of the sources from which that wealth was derived, I have already spoken. Such vast property naturally interested all ranks of men, and it was impossible to lay the foundation of a new ecclesiastical constitution, without taking it into the most serious consideration.

There have arisen since the reformation some sects of Christians, who, imagining that they adhered to the principles of the apostolic age, have taught that the ministers of religion should imitate the poverty of the first teachers of the gospel, that they should depend entirely upon the charity of those who listened to their instructions, and should deny themselves many innocent comforts and gratifications in which other Christians might indulge,

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The Scotish reformers had too much good sense, and too much knowledge of human nature, to adopt those wild, enthusiastical, and erroneous ideas. While they reprobated the immorality, the licentiousness, the profusion of the priesthood, they saw the utility of making a competent provision for the teachers of religion; they were convinced, that, without such a provision, the best interests of religion would suffer through the ignorance, and, consequently, through the despicable public exhibitions of the men by whom it was enforced. Banishing the unnatural and pernicious system of celibacy in the clergy, which, for political ends, had been encouraged, and at length commanded by the church of Rome, they were sensible, that, from the tender relations of domestic life, new cares and anxiety would arise to the ministers, and that, therefore, in addition to what might be assigned to them, it would be wise to place their families in such a situation, as that the dreadful apprehension of leaving them destitute might not weaken those exertions, or occupy that attention, which should be chiefly directed to the spiritual edification of mankind.

These were the general principles entertained by the reformers upon the subject of securing a maintenance for the protestant clergy, and they have, with great force and propriety, expressed what they thought: "Scripture and reason," they observe, "do both teach that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and that the mouth of the ox which treadeth forth

the corn should not be muzzled. Therefore, of necessity it is that honest provision be made for ministers, which we require to be such, that they have neither occasion of solicitude, nor yet of insolency and wantonness. And this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation, but also for their wives and their children after them; for it is against godliness, reason, and equity, that the widow and children of him who did faithfully serve the church of God in his life, and for that cause was not careful in providing for his family, should, after his death, be left comfortless." Having made these observations, they determine what stipends should be paid to ministers, and what should be granted to superintendents, to whom they allotted a much larger revenue than to ordinary pastors*.

* "It is difficult," the compilers of the book of discipline remark, "to appoint the several stipends of every minister, because the charges of all will of necessity not be alike, for some will be resident in one place, some will be compelled to travel, and change their dwelling, especially if they have charge of divers churches; some will be burdened with wife and children, and one with more than another: and some will perchance lead a single life; and if equal stipends should be appointed to all these, who are in charge so unequal, one would suffer penury and another would have superfluity. Therefore, we judge, that every minister should have sufficient wherewith to keep a house, and be sustained in all things necessary, conform to his quality and the necessity of the time. Whereon it is thought that every minister should have forty bolls meal, and twenty bolls of malt, with money to buy other provision for his house, and to serve his other necessities. To the superintendents who travel from place to place for establishing of the church, a further consideration must be given.

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They point out some privileges and advantages to be enjoyed by the children of the clergy; and with the strongest reasoning, conveyed in language far removed from the extravagance of enthusiasm, they thus defend their conduct in making that provision for the ministers which they had specified. "This we require, not so much for ourselves, or for any who pertain to us, as for the increase of virtue and learning, and for the advantage of posterity. For it is not to be supposed, that a man will dedicate his children to serve in a calling where no worldly commodity is expected; and naturally men are provoked to follow virtue, where they see honour and profit attending the same, as by the contrary, many despise virtue, when they see virtuous and godly men live unrespected; and we should be sorry to know that any were discouraged from following the studies of learning, whereby they may be able to profit the church of Christ."

Support of the poor.

Under this section is considered the important subject of supporting the poor; and it was decided, that the funds requisite for that purpose should, agreeably to the practice of the early ages of Christianity, be furnished from the patrimony of the

Therefore, we think, that to each of them should be appointed six chalders of bear, nine chalders of meal, and three chalders of oats, with five hundred merks of money, which may be augmented or diminished at the discretion of the prince and council of the realm." It is evident from these stipends, that the reformers wished the ministers to be hospitable; their own families could not require the twenty bolls of malt, which were to be assigned to each of them.

church. They seem, however, to have been aware of the delicacy and difficulty attending any arrangements of this nature, for they add, "not that we are patrons to sturdy and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of begging, for those, we think, must be compelled to work, or else be punished by the civil magistrate: But the poor widows, the fatherless, the impotent maimed persons, the aged, and every one that may not work, or such persons as are accidentally fallen into decay, ought to be provided." Even these regulations, restricted as they are, tended to increase the evil which they were designed to remedy, as every certain provision for the poor must unhappily do; but we cannot wonder that the compilers were strangers to the enlightened and comprehensive principles of political economy, which, however obvious, or however just, have only of late been fully unfolded, and placed in the striking light in which they should ever be regarded *.

There remained, respecting the patrimony of the church, another point, the arrangement of which, it was always seen, would be attended with infinite difficulty. A great proportion of that patrimony had, during the continuance of the disturbances which had attended the struggle for reformation, been con-

* I allude to the very able and interesting work of Mr Malthus, the perusal of which, notwithstanding some prejudice against it, carried conviction to my mind upon most of the subjects which he has discussed.

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veyed to lay proprietors; and part of it had, through the practice which many of the beneficed clergy had adopted, of granting long leases at a very reduced rent upon receiving a sum of money, been rendered of little value. How were these abuses to be remedied, and by what means was that property to be recovered, from which alone the ministers of religion, the teachers of youth, and the poor, could be upheld and supported? This was the rock upon which there was the most obvious danger of making shipwreck, and all the evils which were dreaded from it were realized; for, as we shall soon find, the attempts which were made to regulate this matter proved the ruin of the ecclesiastical policy enjoining the regulation. It is obvious, indeed, from the manner in which the compilers announce the remedy which they had devised, that they were aware of the formidable obstacles which they had to encounter. "To our grief," they say, "we hear that some gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting tithes and other estates before paid to the church, than ever the papists were; and so the tyranny of priests is turned into the tyranny of lords and lairds." They require that these laymen should surrender the tithes, and live upon their own revenues; and in allusion to the leases, they observe, "If any shall think this demand of restitution prejudicial to those who possess tithes by virtue of leases, we would have them know, that unjust possession is no possession before God, and that those of

whom they acquired their right, were thieves and murderers, and had no power to alienate the property of the church."

Their plan was, that certain persons whom they called deacons, should be annually chosen in every parish, to collect the ecclesiastical revenues; that these officers, under the inspection of the ministers and elders instructed by the whole church, should, at stated times, distribute the revenues to those entitled to receive them; and that they should keep accounts of their receipts and expenditure, to be examined and approved by auditors appointed by the church, previous to the election of new deacons.

Miscellaneous regulations.

IV. In concluding this review of the scheme of ecclesiastical policy, I shall notice the most important regulations which it sanctioned respecting public worship, the administration of the sacraments, and other miscellaneous points connected with religion and morality.

In the church of Rome, the days consecrated to particular saints, or to the commemoration of events conceived to be of infinite importance to mankind, had become so numerous, as to render the regular observance of them a heavy service, inconsistent, in a great degree, with proper attention to the necessary avocations and pursuits of human life. As the consecration of these days was not enjoined or even warranted by Scripture, the reformers considered themselves as at liberty to declare against it; and they accordingly prohibited those who had en-

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tered into their communion, from observing the feasts of the apostles, of martyrs, of the Virgin, of Christmas, circumcision, epiphany, purification, and other such festivals; assigning as the reason, that they were not authorized by the word of God. Mass, and all the other parts of the service of the church, which they had branded with the name of idolatry, were, agreeably to the Confession of Faith, strictly interdicted; and the forms of divine worship assumed a simplicity most suitable to the nature of that pure and spiritual religion, which they were designed to impress upon the heart. The word was appointed to be regularly preached, and all other means used which could bring the ignorant to the knowledge of the truth, or establish the faith of those by whom it had been embraced.

Respecting the mode of conducting public worship, much is left to the judgment of particular churches, and to the superintendent who overlooked them. This general recommendation, however, is given, "that in large towns, there should, in addition to Sunday, be one day of the week for the delivery of sermons; and that there should be used, every day, what is called the common prayer, or some religious exercise, such as reading the Scriptures." Provision is made for the instruction of the young, and masters of families are enjoined to be attentive to the moral and religious state of those who compose their household.

With respect to the administration of the sacra-

ments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, the object of the compilers was to enforce the mode which they conceived to be most consonant to the form of institution. They appointed, that in baptizing, water should be used; that in receiving the Lord's Supper all should partake of bread and wine, and that they should do this sitting, because, as was then erroneously supposed, Jesus Christ sat at supper when he instituted it; that the minister should break the bread and distribute the elements to those who were near him, the rest of the communicants reverently doing this for themselves; and that, while they were thus solemnly engaged, some passages from the inspired writings, exhibiting the love of Christ, and the severity of his sufferings and death, should be read. With regard to the frequency of observing this ordinance, it is said "that they esteem four times in the year sufficiently often; but they recommend that these times should not correspond with Easter, or with the seasons which had formerly been regarded as sacred, lest, by association of ideas, the false notions which had been entertained should be continued." To prevent rash and improper participation of this sacred and impressive solemnity, they required that none should be admitted to it, till their knowledge of its nature and design had been carefully ascertained.

Baptism they wished to be administered chiefly on the Lord's day, and always to be preceded by divine worship.

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The regulations upon the subject of marriage, it is not necessary minutely to detail. To guard against unsuitable marriages, they enjoined, that unless the persons were well known, and that no suspicion of any prior relation, or any circumstance which should prevent the union, should arise, the banns should be published three Sundays; but where the persons were known, they permitted the time to be shortened at the discretion of the minister. The marriage ceremony they commanded to be performed in public. "In no ways can we admit marriage to be secretly used, how honourable soever the persons be, and therefore esteem Sunday, before sermon, the most convenient time for its celebration, and that it ought not to take place on any other day without the consent of the ministry."

With regard to burials, they differed widely from the church of Rome, and from several of the reformed churches. "Burial," they remark, "hath been had in estimation in all ages, to signify that the body which is committed to the earth shall not utterly perish, but rise again on the last day." While, however, they take this solemn and affecting view of the subject, they disapprove of the ceremonies which had been introduced, and which had been long practised when the last offices were performed, forbidding not only what they call vain and superstitious rites devised for making gain, singing of psalms, and prayers for the dead, but what, however innocent and impressive in itself,

might pave the way for renewing the enormous abuses which they were anxious for ever to banish. CHAP. XVIII. 1560.

"For avoiding all inconveniencies, we judge it best that neither singing nor reading be at the burial; for although these things may admonish the living to prepare themselves for death, yet superstitious and ignorant persons may think that some profit cometh thereby to the dead. Wherefore we think it most expedient, that the dead be accompanied to the place of burial by some honest neighbours, without either singing or reading, and without the ceremonies formerly used. Yet are we not so precise in this, but that we are content that particular churches may do in this respect, with the consent of their minister, what they conceive to be most expedient."

They were also averse to funeral sermons, because they thought that even these might give rise to superstition, and because, if the practice were once admitted, ministers would either be almost constantly employed in preaching them, "or would make, in this respect, a distinction of persons, inconsistent with an office, which should lead him who fills it to regard all men as equal in the divine estimation."

The concluding part of this section is directed against a practice which cannot be too strongly reprobated,—which, contrary to the plainest reasons for abandoning it, long prevailed, and, in some parts of the kingdom, is even still not exploded. "Churches appointed for preaching and ministration of the sacraments, ought not to be made places of burial, but

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for that use some other convenient ground is to be appointed, lying in the most free air, and kept to that use only."

The devastation which had been made upon religious edifices, and the changes to be introduced into those of them which remained entire, led the framers of the book of discipline to insert an article upon the reparation of churches; and that article deserves to be mentioned, because it shews how groundless is an aspersion which has been often cast upon the Scotish reformers, and which has been almost universally considered as founded in truth: that, in their antipathy to the magnificence and splendour with which the popish faith ornamented the sanctuaries of God, they went to an opposite extreme, and held their religious assemblies in gloomy and uncomfortable structures, more calculated to inspire melancholy and despair, than to elevate with the joy, or to excite the cheerfulness which are associated with pure devotion. "Lest the word of God and the ministration of the sacraments should come in contempt, through the unseemliness of the place where these exercises are used, we think it needful, that the churches where the people convene, be repaired in such fashion as may agree with the majesty of the word of God, and serve to the ease and commodity of the people."

But the form of policy devised by Knox, and those who assisted him, did not lose sight of that discipline by which the primitive church laboured

to amend the morals, and to establish the virtue of those whom it received into its communion.

The offences committed against the laws of a country, call for the infliction of punishment by the civil magistrate; but religion, contemplating the dispositions, and seeking to regulate the whole of conduct, applies to sentiments and actions which elude the notice, or are beyond the reach of secular authority. The numerous class of crimes which are connected with these sentiments, the many violations of morality which no system of jurisprudence can restrain, the reformers subjected to ecclesiastical discipline, and they pointed out the method of adverting to them, or of punishing those by whom they had been perpetrated. In cases where the offence was known to few, private admonitions were recommended; and where that proved successful, the error was not to be exhibited to the congregation; but in cases of habitual licentiousness or depravity, the person guilty was appointed to be openly summoned and reproved. If he was thus disposed to repent, he was to be admonished in presence of the whole church; and upon publickly declaring his penitence, he was to be re-admitted to Christian communion. If he set at defiance, and resisted every effort made to reclaim him—if, not moved by the solicitude of those who shewed the deepest concern in his amendment, he listened with indifference or with hardened contempt to the prayers which were offered for him, then was he to be formally excom-

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municated. Even, however, after this sentence had been pronounced, the gates of reconciliation were not finally closed. If, in consequence of mature reflection, he discerned the folly and the danger of persisting in wickedness—if he felt anxiety to be restored to the church,—to be permitted to join in its sacred ordinances, and thus to bear testimony in the assembly of his brethren to his conviction of the infinite importance of religion—to shew his earnestness to receive the blessing of heaven, he was again adopted as a disciple of Christ, and as a member of that spiritual community from which he had been excluded. But nothing was omitted which could strengthen his good resolutions. He was exhorted to vigilance and caution in his future conduct, after which thanks were given to the Almighty for the sinner's conversion.

The system of discipline was intended to apply to all ranks of men. "To it, the whole estates of the realm, as well the rulers as they that were ruled, the preachers themselves as well as the poorest within the church, must be subject; the ministers especially, because they, as the eye and mouth of the church, should be most irreprehensible."

Although in framing their scheme, the reformers shewed the utmost attention to the feelings of those against whom it was to be exercised, yet it may be doubted whether it could have been productive of any salutary effect. That some distinction, in granting access to the privileges of a religious community,

should be made between good men and those who are depraved, is in the highest degree desirable. But it is perhaps impossible, while human nature remains in its present imperfect state, to carry this so far as might be wished, without establishing a kind of inquisition, which might do more harm than any discipline could do good. The exercise of the power which must be vested in those who are to determine upon the religious and moral state of the people, might easily be rendered instrumental in the gratification of private malice, and would frequently, from the erroneous judgments of the most candid and sincere, sully the fairest reputation, wounding the feelings and destroying the peace of the modest, the humble, and the virtuous. The intention, however, was most laudable, although the difficulties with which the reformers had to contend, were too formidable to be easily removed, or even considerably diminished.

Beauty and simplicity of this scheme.

Such are the prominent features of that scheme of ecclesiastical policy, which may be ascribed, in a great measure, to Knox, and in the formation of which he was unquestionably much influenced by the sentiments which he had imbibed during his residence at Geneva. To those who, holding the doctrine that a peculiar form of church government has been instituted in Scripture, necessarily regard every other form as a departure from the will of God, it is vain to urge the excellence of this plan, or its tendency to answer the great purposes for

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which revelation was given. But if the tenet of the reformers, that the government of the church may be modified or changed according to the varying circumstances of different ages or nations, be admitted, the policy contained in the first book of discipline, may be tried by the standard which, upon this supposition, is to be employed in determining the merit of every form according to which the church may be administered.

It can scarcely be denied, that this policy is distinguished by the most beautiful simplicity; that in the views which it gives of ordination, of dispensing the sacraments, of the great importance of education, there is much which is agreeable to reason, and which might have had the best effects upon the religious and intellectual state of Scotland.

Too great an innovation.

Yet it may be doubted whether it was prudent at once to attempt such a complete revolution in the church—whether it would not have been more consistent with just policy in men anxious, as the reformers certainly were, to retain the possessions of the regular and secular clergy, to preserve, in as far as was compatible with their principles, the form which had so long subsisted.

Opinion of Archbishop Hamilton.

In this light the subject presented itself to the sagacious mind of the archbishop of St Andrews, who, although no friend to the reformation, or to the men who conducted it, sent, upon hearing of the policy, Brand, a monk of Holyroodhouse, with this message or advice to Knox, that although he had

made many innovations, and had introduced changes in the doctrine of the church, for which the primate admitted there was much reason, yet it would be wise to retain the old policy, which had been the work of ages, or to put a better in its place, before he attempted to shake its stability.

There was much soundness and much knowledge of human nature in this counsel. The archbishop plainly saw, that the revenues of the church, which had been alienated, would not by this scheme be easily recovered; and although Knox paid to his suggestions no attention, that reformer had soon cause to regret that he had not proceeded with the caution which he had been advised to adopt *.

Had the popish bishops been succeeded by men invested with the episcopal character, it would have been very difficult for the laity, as the law then stood, to wrest from the church her ample possessions. By destroying the ancient policy, and laying the foundation of a new church, these possessions were left without a legal owner; and it might have been perceived, that the nobles and barons would feel little inclination to endow the infant establishment with the wealth which they had so long contemplated with envy, when it ministered to the pomp and the indulgence of the priesthood.

* Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, B. iii. p. 174. Keith, B. iii. ch. i. p. 495., who has given this anecdote at greater length, as he found it detailed in a manuscript copy of Spottiswoode's History.

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Book of discipline not in conformity to the practice and sentiments of either of the established churches of Britain.

The first book of discipline, although it determined in some essential respects the state of religion in Scotland, has not received the support of either of the great divisions of Christians in Britain. They who have embraced episcopacy, although they are not averse to maintain that this book in fact sanctioned a form of prelacy, would have preferred to that form an exact resemblance of the church of England, while the successors of the first reformers, who afterwards embraced with so much zeal the exclusive and divine authority of the presbyterian model, consider it as a stumbling-block which they are eager to remove. They have accordingly represented the institution of superintendents as not designed by Knox to continue in the church, and thus endeavour to gain to their principles his countenance and approbation. But the ground upon which they rest this assertion is not sufficient to bear it. It is apparent, from the manner in which Knox has spoken of the state of religion, while superintendents were recognized—from the uniformity with which he inculcated deference and obedience to the higher ecclesiastical powers, and from the language used in the acts of successive assemblies, in some of which superintendents are explicitly classed among the needful members of the church, that he was firmly persuaded that his plan ought to be permanent; that so far from being only a devout imagination, as some of the nobility contemptuously characterized it, it was the best scheme

which presented itself to his mind, at a time, too, when he must naturally have seen the importance of suggesting the best arranged and most useful form of church government *. CHAP. XVIII. 1560.

In every respect the doctrines and the policy of the first Scotish reformers are entitled to the attention of the inhabitants of Britain. They are intimately connected with the dawn of intellectual and religious light; they exhibit the men by whom they originated, or by whom they were defended, in the point of view in which these men should in justice be regarded; and, displaying the striking contrast between the ignorance of superstition, and the blessings which have resulted from the cultivation of the human faculties, they tend to excite the most fervent gratitude to that Almighty Being, to whom we are in- Reflections upon it.

* Calderwood, in his History of the church of Scotland, speaks of the superintendents as one of the parts of the scheme which was alterable, p. 25; and a little after, p. 29, he says, "our kirk admitted superintendents for necessity only in the beginning." He proceeds to point out the checks which general assemblies gave to their power, but he does not conceal his satisfaction that they had been rooted out. "By process of time," he adds, "their office would have brought forth the very same effects of which, in Germany, there hath been heavy complaints, so dangerous a thing it is to give the least pre-eminence in power to one minister above another." See, on the other hand, Knox's History, wherever he speaks of superintendents, particularly his introduction to B. iv. p. 282, the acts of assemblies held during his life, and the controversial work, entitled the "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery examined and disproved."

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debted for the civil and spiritual liberty which has enlarged the sphere of our happiness, and exalted the dignity of our nature.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

Printed by G. Ramsay & Co.
Edinburgh, 1811.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015